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Attorney General

Thanks for sending me this truly remarkable document dealing with the way Congressmen voted on key issues. If it is not too much trouble, you might send me four or five extra copies of this supplement.

Sincerely,
H. A. WALLACE,
Secretary of Commerce

Words are inadequate to express to you and to your staff my deep feeling of appreciation for the great humanitarian work which you are doing. After reading the February 11th issue, I cannot help but be impressed with the utmost sincerity and the honest effort to be fair which is a keynote of every issue which you handle. At times it becomes very discouraging to realize how few genuine liberals there really are. One is almost moved to tears to hear other college students express opinions which bespeak a complete lack of information on the most vital issues of today—to realize that we are rapidly sinking into a state of *Harding normalcy*—only this time it is taking an insidious form: veiled attacks on the so-called "Communistic Tendency." What we need today are more young people who are unafraid of being called "radicals" and who will throw themselves heart and soul behind the sort of things which President Roosevelt stood for—freedom of opportunity for all men, regardless of race, creed, or color. Magazines like yours are a potent weapon in the fight for liberalism, and I hope nothing will stop your endeavors.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 8 NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1946 NUMBER 1630

Wage-Price Policy

THE NEW wage-price policy announced last week evokes about the same reactions as does a plaster cast on a broken leg. By itself, it is an unlovely thing, ugly, restrictive, exasperating, ungainly. The best that can be said for it is that without it, the broken leg would be vastly worse. The policy was created to mend a dreadful fracture of the government's controls over stabilization; with all its drawbacks, it is perhaps the best that could be contrived under the circumstances.

A resumé of the factors which led to the shattering of the old stabilization policy and necessitated the formation of a new one may be in order. The process began immediately after V-J Day, when government, management and labor, in a drunken spree, prematurely kicked over the mechanisms used during the war to keep the economy in some sort of balance. With wage controls gone, the government belatedly attempted to keep inflation within bounds by announcing a policy late in October which called for holding the price line and at the same time increasing wages out of the accumulated and prospective surplus profits of industry. Despite learned treatises by right-wing economists declaring this policy nonsensical, there is every reason to believe that it was, instead, logically sound and that it would have worked had it been administered and really supported by a strong governmental hand in Washington. For there can be no argument that industrial profits—during the war and during the next year or two—are ample to underwrite wage increases of from 15 to 20 percent and still keep the stockholders in the dividend checks to which they have become accustomed. But big industry, beyond any doubt acting in concert, determined to destroy the October 30 wage-price policy. As was almost inevitable, steel became the test case, or rather the dynamite by which the policy was to be blown up.

As government negotiator, industry-minded John Snyder offered the steelmasters a price boost of $4 a ton. It was on the verge of being accepted—and why not, for it promised the industry a deliciously fat pot of gravy even after the 18½-cents-an-hour wage increase. But suddenly the Wall Street gentlemen realized that the $4 figure could be rationalized by the OPA as falling within the present price policy and that whereas steel would be ahead of the game, other industries would not necessarily receive similarly lush treatment. The deal, so close to being consummated that Snyder had almost announced it, was called off because it would not in itself have broken the wage-price policy. So steel held out for more, and perfectly safely; Snyder had let it be known that he would do anything to stop a steel strike, regardless of the cost—that is, regardless of the cost to the consumer. Snyder was stopped from doling out a $7 or $10 increase by the loud screams of the OPA. A couple of weeks ago Chester Bowles was called back from South Carolina, whither he had gone to recuperate from a back ailment and, no doubt, an acute case of nausea. Since the steel case was hopelessly compromised and a huge bribe to the industry was essential, and since its payment would thereby wreck the old stabilization

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policy, Bowles's job was to write a new policy which would permit the extortionate payment but would at the same time continue some bulwarks against inflation. Bowles quickly found that the second objective could not be accomplished as long as Snyder had a hand in the matter. There followed a week of fantastic pulling and hauling around the President. Bowles finally won.

The price aspects of the program he issued are not too bad. The OPA insists it is a "tight" policy. "Tight," of course, is a relative word. The virtual guarantee to industry of its 1936-39 profit average will inevitably result in somewhat higher prices, but since most industries are already earning much more than that average and will continue in that position even after wage increases, there will not be a universal and general raising of the ceilings. And even more important, the prime industry objective of substantial inflation—to permit a killing in the stock market, a killing on the products to be sold, and a killing of the workers' accumulated savings so they can't be too tough in the next big-business-labor conflict—has for the moment been defeated.

The wage provisions are much more questionable. The policy calls for a reinstitution of wartime wage controls. The Wage Stabilization Board is allowed to admit only those increases which fall within the post V-J Day pattern of settlements, *i.e.*, increases of about 17 or 18 percent. Those not subjected to WSB review may not be used as a basis for price increases, and even some of these, according to the judgment of the Stabilization Administrator, may be barred as illegal. In effect, this means the end of collective bargaining during the reconversion period; to say that it is distasteful to labor is to make a gross understatement. The restoration of federal wage controls is indeed an unhappy thing however you look at it.

It is clear that Bowles's first step must be the issuance of a series of regulations permitting the automatic approval for price-relief purposes of wage increases up to a specific point, say 17½ percent, to prevent the WSB from being completely snowed under with a deluge of applications. Second, he must use every ounce of his well known personality to sell the program to labor, or failing that, to mitigate somewhat labor's adamant resistance to the policy.

The most reassuring fact about the new developments is the elevation of Bowles and Porter. The latter is a man of stature; the rent-control program he administered under Leon Henderson in the OPA has been notably successful and bears his stamp on every hand. It is comforting to know that the biggest fights on the program in the future will be between Bowles, as head of the reconstituted Office of Economic Stabilization, and Porter, as head of the OPA, as to which can be tougher in fighting inflation. As this is written, the expected executive order precisely defining the relationship of Bowles and his OES to Snyder and his OWMR has not yet been issued. It is quite clear, however, that Bowles has won his fight and that Snyder will not exert overriding or even consequential authority in the wage-price field. In our imperfect world, this guarantee brings us about as close to a V-S Day as we are entitled to expect.

Toward Decent Wages

There is now a chance for speedy action on the Pepper bill (S 1349) to raise the minimum wage set by the Fair Labor Standards Act from 40 to 65 cents per hour. The Senate Education and Labor Committee, at the prodding of Senators Pepper, Murray (D, Mont.), and Tunnell (D, Del.), has finally reported the bill to the floor in better condition than its supporters had expected. But it will be a still more difficult task to get the bill through the two Houses without amendments which would seriously restrict its coverage. Thus far, enemies of the bill seem much more aware of its far-reaching political and economic implications than do progressives. The Southern Textile Manufacturers, through their spokesman, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, the American Sugar Cane League and the California Fish Canners' Association are only a few of the special-interest groups which are maintaining high-powered lobbies to fight the measure. The National Committee for a Decent Minimum Wage, Earle Building, Washington, D. C., deserves the support, moral and financial, of all those who understand the importance of this fight.

A Secretary for Interior

If President Truman has learned anything from his unfortunate attempts to appoint his friends to top jobs, he will make a careful choice of a man to succeed Harold Ickes. Obviously, the next Secretary should not be remotely connected with oil, or have close friends dealing with any natural resource. He should be able to stand up firmly against the oil and power lobbies and other private interests. He should have a reliable record in public power and be familiar with conservation and reclamation problems. He should be sufficiently imaginative to develop new TVA's and Grand Coulees. A sympathetic understanding of America's territorial problems is essential because he will be concerned with the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Finally, he should be a first-class administrator, since Interior is one of the largest government departments. Many a Western Democrat is being mentioned for the post. In our opinion, the President would act wisely to appoint Acting Secretary Oscar Chapman of Colorado, a proved liberal with an outstanding record as Ickes' assistant for the past thirteen years.

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Political Blackmail for Poland

Immediately after the First World War, Herbert Hoover, then Food Administrator, refused food to the starving Hungarians until they overthrew the regime headed by Communist Bela Kun. Today, that history seems to be repeating itself. American Ambassador Lane has told the Poles that loans from this country are likely to be denied if Poland restricts the entry of American owners of industrial property covered by the nationalization law of January 2. It is reliably reported that a group in the State Department headed by Assistant Secretary James C. Dunn is opposing any loan to Poland, out of Russophobia. Aside from its morality, as "high politics" this is a weird piece of nonsense; the only result would be to drive Poland, and all the Poles, completely into the Russian economic orbit. Is that what we want?

Two Japanese War Criminals

Japanese Generals Yamashita and Homma have now apparently lost their last hope. Yamashita is to be hanged, a dishonor which the Japanese take very hard; Homma is to be shot. Both men had appealed to the United States Supreme Court; in both cases the Court refused to act.

Very few Americans would deny that these two men are morally reprehensible to the last degree. Homma ordered the infamous Bataan death march; Yamashita was in charge of operations in the Philippines, and if he did not know what was going on, he should have. Nevertheless, there is something disquieting about the trials of these two men. Under the law, the Supreme Court did not pass judgment on the guilt or innocence of the accused, but only on the question whether the military tribunals which tried them had proper authority. Even so, Justices Murphy and Rutledge filed dissenting opinions gravely disturbing in character. Since the dissents, and the general situation, are almost the same in both cases, the comment on Yamashita may stand for both.

From their dissents arises a gloomy picture of sloppy procedure on the part of the military tribunal and a gross violation of Anglo-Saxon principles of law. These Justices charge that Yamashita was given no time to prepare a defense, that no effort was made to prove a recognized violation of the laws of war, that hearsay evidence was introduced, that cross-examination was severely limited. Mr. Justice Murphy says that, "in my opinion, such a procedure is unworthy of the traditions of our people or of the immense sacrifice that they have made to advance the common ideals of mankind." Says Mr. Justice Rutledge, "I cannot accept the view that anywhere in our system resides or lurks a power so unrestrained to deal with any human being through any process of trial. . . . Nor has any human being heretofore been held to be wholly beyond elementary procedural protection by the Fifth Amendment. I cannot consent to even implied departure from that great absolute. It was a great patriot who said: 'He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty he establishes a precedent that will reach himself.'"

General Smith to Moscow

President Truman has dipped into the armed forces again for the appointment of General Eisenhower's wartime chief of staff—General Bedell Smith—as Ambassador to Russia. Possibly the President's highly successful experience with General Marshall in China inclined him to a military choice. In any case, the selection will probably be welcomed in Moscow. The Russians have a weakness for two types of Americans—broad-minded businessmen like Davies and Harriman, and successful military leaders. "Beetle" Smith brings with him the glory of triumphant Allied coöperation on the field of battle and the nostalgic memory of the Nazi surrender. In addition, he already knows the Russians—he has dealt with them and downed glasses of vodka at their banquets. We wish him the best of luck on his new link-up with the Russians.

Free for What?

Mr. Kent Cooper of the Associated Press and Mr. Hugh Baillie of the United Press, who have been leading the crusade for a free press in the far corners of the earth, could do worse than study the recent refusal of the constitutional commission of the French National Assembly to adopt an absolute guarantee of freedom of the press. The vote has still to be ratified by the General Assembly, but there can be no doubt that American concepts of a free press have lost ground before those of the Soviet Union. Under the new French constitutional proposal, freedom of the press is made conditional on its behavior. The obvious intention is to prevent the reappearance of the old trust-controlled newspapers that did so much to corrupt and poison French thinking in the years before the war. It was a Left move—a combination of Communists and Socialists—against the Right.

The Communist position can be explained on the grounds of Moscow influence. But French Socialists are quite independent of Moscow. What is more likely is a determination that France shall not go back to the days when her newspapers could be bought and sold by any interest that could offer a big enough price. The tentative French solution must come as a shock to Americans who believe that a free press is a God-given right, and not one to be justified only by a decent regard for its responsibilities. No American

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can want controls such as the French are flirting with. But no American need fool himself, either, that our system will be preferred to the Russian system by other peoples unless we convince them that a free press can be a responsible one, too. A world that is delicately balanced on the pinpoint of the atomic age is not likely to be reassured when it reads the war-provoking diatribes of the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press.

Immigration Barrier

In the face of President Truman's humanitarian proposal to bring at least some of Europe's displaced millions into this country under our immigration quota system, a concerted effort is being made to rush legislation through Congress which would slash in half even the small numbers now eligible. The House Committee on Immigration has scheduled hearings soon on the Gossett bill (HR 3663), which, although ostensibly directed against those who served in the armed forces of enemy countries or were members of fascist parties, contains the provision that all immigration quotas for a period of ten years be cut in half. An attempt, thus far unsuccessful, is also being made to withdraw the interim report of the Special Committee on Immigration which recommended that no major changes be made in the present laws without a thorough study of all factors involved. Several other bills have been proposed in both Houses which stand a dangerously good chance of passage, in view of the present temper of Congress. And especially of the House of Representatives.

Mackenzie in the New York Post

Tall Oaks from Little Acorns Grow

Argentine Blue Book

THE STORM BREWING since 1940 in the Allied world's relations with Argentina has finally broken, amid suitable thunder and lightning, with the publication of the State Department's Blue Book accusing the Farrell-Peron combination of outright collusion with the Axis.

The Blue Book contains little that is new except details. Every correspondent in Argentina, every United States diplomat who cared to look at them, knew some of the facts—and all the conclusions. The tremendous shock of the Blue Book, however, is quite different.

Washington observers have long seen the contradiction between American foreign policy in theory and in practice. In theory it looked fine; but in practice it was a mass of exceptions which seemed pointed in another direction, especially in regard to Spain and Argentina. Indeed, the facts were facts of appeasement —of Franco, of British imperial policy, of dictatorship in Brazil, of fascism in Argentina.

Cordell Hull was aware of that cleavage. He tried to make theory and practice coincide when he refused to recognize the government of Farrell after Farrell deposed General Ramirez in 1944. But Mr. Hull was then very ill and no longer had the strength to split that knotty rail. The present Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden, has not only Hull's inclination and courage, he has also the needed strength. The Blue Book is a declaration of ideological warfare on the Farrell government and on Colonel Juan Domingo Peron, should he be elected President on February 24.

In Braden's Blue Book, the lines of democratic theory and practice converge and he has stuck his neck away out to defend both. His enemies can be counted. Besides the Peronistas, some otherwise democratic Argentines will scream for legalistic reasons; British imperial policy, the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade will take a dim view and may try to sabotage him as they sabotaged Hull; a Soviet finger to muddle things up further is not unlikely; authoritarian Brazilians and reactionary people elsewhere in South America will groan; and the Caribbean countries will complain, not because they support Peron or anything he stands for, but because like those of Gulliver in Lilliput, the northern giant's hands must not be untied.

The Blue Book establishes the probable line of debate at the conference scheduled in Rio de Janeiro for next May. Ostensibly it is called to convert the Act of Chapultepec into a grand alliance of American states for common action after peace has been breached. But that is locking the stable door after the war horses have been loosed. Logic and good sense require prevention, and three recent items contribute to that trend of thought: (1) the Rodriguez Larreta thesis of defend-

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ing democratic peoples, (2) the amendment of the Argentine Lawyers' Guild asking that in preventive action the Pan-American regional system be expanded to world proportions, presumably through the UNO, and (3) the Blue Book.

It is perhaps just as well that the Argentine question was not brought up at the recent London Assembly of the United Nations. The Security Council's dismal record on Iran, Java and Greece (with the exception of the Bevin-Vishinsky rough-and-tumble debate), settling none of these on their merits, may indicate that the Argentine question would have received the same treatment. The door is still open, however, to bring the matter to the UNO, with the full weight of the Blue Book's overwhelming evidence.

Political, economic and social conditions in Argentina resemble amazingly those of France in 1780: the people without rights or comforts, the country dominated by the Roman Church and State (government plus army, plus landowners). Peron is one item in the struggle of the Argentine masses to free themselves; a bewitched and false prophet, if you please, but still a prophet. It is no accident that his supporters call themselves *descamisados*, the shirtless, just as once the armies of the French Revolution were called *sans-culottes*, the trouserless.

In their troubles, however, the great majority of the Argentine people will understand—as they did when Braden was in Buenos Aires and as we should too, in this country—that Braden is putting into gear a powerful democratic policy, not only on paper but in fact.

America and the UNO

THE ENDING of the first sessions of the United Nations Organization gives the United States seven months in which to determine what role it will play with respect to international disputes that come before the next session. This country served the cause of world peace at the first session, in London, by acting three times as referee between Britain and Russia, first when Iran, at the British behest, accused Russia of interfering in Iranian affairs; second, when Russia accused Britain of disturbing world peace by maintaining an army in Greece, and third, when the Ukraine SSR accused Britain of disturbing world peace and of suppressing legitimate nationalist aspirations for freedom by keeping an army in the Indonesian islands. But the United States will have to be more than referee when the next UNO session meets in New York in September. It will serve the cause of peace then only by offering positive solutions to disputes and by recognizing that it has an interest in the affairs of the regions over which the controversies rage.

The effect of the referee attitude of the United States at the first session has been to maintain the status quo in Iran, Greece and Indonesia. The United Nations threw away a magnificent opportunity to examine the whole problem of colonial relationships and the futures of colonial peoples, even though, as Saville Davis points out on page 283 of this issue, the Assembly gives a wonderful sounding board for these peoples. In spite of London, the war for independence that has been shaking Java since last August 17 goes on. In view of the origins of the intervention of the British army in Indonesia, Stettinius had no alternative to blocking the Ukrainian suggestion. The Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, in whose decisions the United States shares, directed the British to send troops into Java in order to disarm the Japanese and to liberate 250,000 persons friendly to the Allies whom the Japanese had penned up in concentration camps.

But Stettinius was moved by deeper considerations than reluctance to repudiate a decision of his own government. Those considerations illuminate the weaknesses of the United States in foreign affairs. They disclose its uncertainty about how we should express our acknowledged interest in affairs of the world.

The United States, in the first place, during the London meeting feared that the pursuit of the protests raised before the UNO by Iran, Ukrainia and Russia would so profoundly disturb the relations of the disputing states that it would endanger peace. While this fear has been justifiable during the London meeting, to harbor it and to base a policy on it in the future would only keep alive the problems that irritate the disputants, and thereby ensure that eventually they will erupt into armed conflict. Furthermore, the referee policy ignores our own interests in the affected areas.

The United States has a stake in the natural wealth of the Middle East and an interest in commerce with the Middle Eastern countries. At London, we overlooked those interests as we devoted our attention to preventing Russia and Britain from coming to grips as a result of their rival ambitions.

The United States has a stake in Greece in that this country's influence in world affairs will diminish as long as it supports unpopular governments maintained by foreign influence, such as Greece now has. And the United States will keep the peace of the world endangered as long as it acquiesces in the existence of a worldwide policy of balance of power characterized by the maintenance of spheres of influence. The problem of Greece is that it is on the frontier of the British-Russian sphere of influence.

The United States has a stake in Indonesia in that the whole of Asia will judge us by whether we encourage or repress the yearnings of Eastern peoples for independence. Some Chinese already have voiced their sympathy for the rebels in Indonesia, and the Chinese government has granted more important economic concessions in China to the Soviet Union than to the United States. By its stand on Indonesia, the

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Soviet regime has persuaded Asiatics that it is a better friend of the Orient than are the Americans.

A second reason why the United States thought it wise to postpone action on disputes before the Security Council was that the State Department believes that at least two of the disputes will be resolved outside the UNO before the September sessions. The forthcoming Greek election, at which the United States and Britain will have 600 observers each, could possibly settle the question whether Greece is to be an independent state or whether it is to remain an outpost of British influence. And the current negotiations in Indonesia may erase the implacable hostility of the Dutch government and the Indonesian people's government, of which Dr. Sutan Sjahrir is the Prime Minister. The British have pressed the stubborn Dutch to make an offer that will suit Sjahrir but will not encourage Malayans, Burmese, Indians and Singhalese to revolt against the British. To hasten the discovery of a solution, the British three weeks ago sent to Java Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, lately British ambassador in Moscow, now the ambassador-designate to Washington.

But the results of the negotiations so far do not nourish American hopes that the Indonesian problem will be dead and buried seven months from now. On February 10 the Netherlands offered to establish a Commonwealth of Indonesia and promised that at some later date the Indonesians would be able to choose full independence or partnership in the Netherlands kingdom. On February 11 Sjahrir said the offer was "unimpressive." Clearly, we need more dynamism in our policy than is implied in mere Micawberish waiting for something to turn up.

Economists and Inflation

IN LAST WEEK'S ISSUE of the *New Republic*, Potomacus summarized the results of a poll of leading economists asking if price controls should be continued and strengthened in order to check inflation. Thirty-nine out of 43 of them advised renewing the Emergency Price-Control Act. All of them implied and several explicitly stated that prompt action was needed to check inventory hoarding and pressure on present ceilings.

Nearly all of them also suggested that the difficulties of maintaining effective price control should be eased by supplementary measures to control wages and employment, scarce materials, bank credit and purchasing power. There was some criticism of the government for the hasty abandonment of these controls after V-J Day, with recommendations that they be resumed. Mr. Leonard Ayres, one of the three economists who replied that price control should not be continued, based his position on the fact that materials and wage controls had been abolished and could not, by three later replies, from Dr. Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. B. F. Haley of Stanford and Dr. Seymour E. Harris of Harvard.

Dr. Groves wants housing and building materials included in a strengthened price-control program, and points out that history demonstrates that the danger of inflation is greatest in postwar periods.

Dr. Haley strongly favors the renewal and extension of the Price-Control Act, the restoration of fats and oil rationing, and priority controls to channel scarce materials into essential reconstruction activities such as low-cost housing. However, he stresses the dangers of increasing prices to settle labor disputes, and emphasizes that the stabilization of wages and prices must go together.

Price control should be maintained at least through June, 1947, and extended to the prices of houses, advises Dr. Harris. He also underlines the need for an end of strikes, continued control of consumer credit, inventory controls, and wage adjustments related to man-hour output and profit expectations.

Traditionally the classical economists have been exponents of the free market. They look upon flexible prices as the most effective mechanism for adjusting normal supply and demand under free enterprise.

Today, however, economists turn out to be tough-minded realists. They see the monopolistic elements in the present economic situation. They know that removal of controls under present conditions would not restore a free competitive market, but would injure a lot of people for the immediate advantage of a few.

Summarized, the replies of these economists emphasize the fact that the present conflict over government intervention in business is not really a fight for free enterprise versus a controlled economy. The real issue is whether control is to be exercised by responsible agents of the people or by irresponsible groups, acting in their own short-run, narrowly conceived interests. Their conclusions deserve thoughtful consideration by Congress.

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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, HELEN FULLER, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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Truman Minus Ickes

by Helen Fuller

TODAY IT IS doubtful that Harry Truman would list Harold Ickes among his best friends. But the time may come when he will. In his letter of resignation and in his comments to the press on it, Secretary Ickes told the world what less intrepid men in Washington had been telling each other for weeks. If Truman acted upon the counsel contained there, he could turn many of his recent failures to successes and assure a bright future for himself and the Democratic Party.

"The immediate cause of my resignation," Ickes told the press, "is the Pauley affair. I do not care to stay in an administration where I am expected to commit perjury for the sake of a party. . . . I do oppose the appointment of Ed Pauley to be Undersecretary of the Navy because: 1. He is an active oil man in private business and is proposed for a job that carries responsibility for government oil. 2. He made me a 'proposition' which should disqualify him for public office. 3. He did not tell the truth under oath to a Senate Committee." This is undoubtedly the part of Ickes' remarks which will be given the biggest play by the anti-Administration press of the country. The Republicans will chortle over this explosion in the Administration and begin to count the advantage it could give them in the 1946 and 1948 elections. Democratic Party wheelhorses will put Ickes' words down in party history as the utterings of a true Benedict Arnold, passing over the most important part of what the Secretary had to say.

THE HUNDREDS of reporters who heard Ickes' official farewell were impressed by the moderate way in which he evaluated the President's total performance to date after he blasted the handling of the Pauley affair. In matters of principle, he said, Truman has tried to give an honest, straightforward administration in the Roosevelt tradition. But he has been "unfortunate" in his choice of some of the men around him, has made some "very regrettable appointments." The President has the right policies in general, Ickes stated. "But policies are not self-executing. You have to have men and women who have a firm conviction as to what they want to do, what ought to be done for the country, who cannot be deviated from that course by any political consideration or private purpose."

Most progressives in Washington would second that diagnosis of the Truman dilemma—although they would phrase it in stronger language—and would agree that the prescription contained in it is especially needed and especially bitter medicine for Mr. Truman just at this time.

It came after a bad weekend for the President, a weekend spent wrestling with the problems which had finally closed in on him so tightly that he had been forced to call off plans for a Florida yachting vacation. The Senate and the House had lowered his stock politically, the former by filibustering against the FEPC bill and the latter by passing the Case anti-labor bill, weakening the Administration with minority groups and organized labor. His reëndorsement of Ed Pauley flopped, as far as assurance of confirmation was concerned. Republicans tasted blood, and Democrats up for reëlection this year resented being asked to carry the added Pauley burden into their campaigns. But Pauley and Hannegan held Truman's feet to the fire on that matter. The Administration's own filibuster on the wage-price question clearly could not be kept going much longer. Price Administrator Chester Bowles refused to be kept dangling. He presented the President with a heavy weekend's reading of abc's on the steel and other wage-price controversies outstanding—together with his resignation in the event that Truman decided against a continued defense of the price line.

While presidential "fixer" George Allen, big-business operator Victor Emanuel's Washington man and a director of Republic Steel, was telling newsmen that if Bowles didn't like giving Big Steel the price increase it wanted, he could just quit, Secretaries Vinson and Byrnes and Bernard Baruch were telling Truman that he would be a fool to go against Bowles's advice. To top it off, a very reliable reporter broke the story that Truman did not intend to run again and that Hannegan was forcing him and his intimates to keep quiet about it.

It had been a tough weekend. But at least he had faced up to the necessity of taking economic-stabilization policies away from his old Missouri crony John Snyder and giving Chester Bowles a free hand. As that decision leaked out, Washington progressives took a fresh breath and prayed that the first Missourian who used his return ticket would start a trend.

Rep. Rankin: . . . If Abraham Lincoln were here today he would be one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Committee on Un-American Activities in the United States, because we are trying to save the American institutions, we are trying to save the American government and the American way of life, which Lincoln cherished, from being undermined and destroyed by the very elements that Lincoln would bitterly oppose if he were here today. – *From the* Congressional Record *of February 11.*

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Suddenly the righteous wrath of Harold Ickes descended on the White House, and Democrats hid their heads in alarm. It will take time and many political appraisals to assess the real damage. The final result will depend as much on Harry Truman as on Harold Ickes.

THE TRUMAN RECORD to date is that of a man who is afraid of his job, and therefore is also afraid of the kind of man it takes to do the job. He has not yet picked a really big man for any post he has had to fill. The inner circle that he has thus drawn around him has driven him to worse decisions than he himself would have made, judging by past records. It is painful for the whole nation to mark time while Harry Truman grows up to the presidency of the United States. But the pain is tolerable because there is still hope that he will achieve the maturity that is required, even though that hope is still very "iffy."

Truman's future depends to a large extent on whether his party this year loses as much or more than it did in 1942. If so, chances of a Democratic victory in 1948 or of a passable Democratic record in the two intervening years will be unlikely. As Henry Wallace pointed out in a recent speech before the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, that result will depend largely on the size of the vote. A big vote means a good chance for the liberal elements in the Democratic Party to hold their own or perhaps even to gain strength in Congress. But getting out a big vote depends largely on how much enthusiasm the various party and political-action groups throughout the country can arouse over the present Administration's record.

It goes back to what can be done with Congress during the rest of this term. The last six months have produced some surface gains there. Both Truman and Democratic Chairman Hannegan show healthy signs of fear for their political futures. These have resulted in the formation of a new strategy board, publicized as a new "brain trust," to push Truman's program over on Capitol Hill. In addition, Truman is paying greater attention to the energetic progressives in the House who can help his program much more than the stodgy party leadership. Representative Albert Gore of Tennessee has been encouraged to form a band of 15 party stalwarts pledged to battle whenever a Republican attack on an Administration proposal is launched. The so-called "liberal bloc" which organized under George Outland of California last session to push the full-employment bill has decided to operate as a group on future measures.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Did You Call Me?"

THE Democratic National Committee, despite the solvent condition in which it finds itself thanks to Pauley, is delinquent on almost all other fronts. The Women's Division, which during the first and second Roosevelt terms was its greatest strength, has been permitted to lie fallow. The "Young" Democrats are being reorganized under leaders who were close to being over-age Young Democrats in the early thirties. In recent months, Hannegan has learned greater respect for the liberal elements that kept the New Deal in power, but he has not yet learned how much added effort should go into cultivation of mass participation in local Democratic activities. The Gallup Poll shows that a majority of the people believe that the Democrats fight harder for their interests than the Republicans, but the National Committee has not found a way to bind the people into its day-by-day work.

Meanwhile, the Republican National Committee seems to grow richer and more energetic but little brighter. The Republicans failed to gain a tremendous advantage with the Negro by refusing to stand solidly for the FEPC. The anti-labor victory on the Case bill obviously was engineered by Republican Leader Halleck of Indiana. Republican tactics on price control parallel the line suggested in recent National Association of Manufacturers ads. The biggest voices in United States big business, also the biggest voices in Republican top councils, are still in chorus for even more stringent anti-labor action. This kind of opposition, naturally, does not produce as much Democratic alertness as is desirable.

Neither the CIO-PAC nor the NCPAC seems in a better position than the Democratic Party. Funds and organization, and the determination and imagination that produced great results in 1944, still have not materialized. Without them, 1946 will be a black year. To get them will require stronger leadership than was required to do the same job with the magic Roosevelt name in 1944.

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The Southern Democrats in their "Unholy Alliance" with reactionary Republicans are stronger and more confident than they were before the FEPC fight. The breakfasts Senator Russell gave for his fellow filibusterers every morning during the battle solidified Senate reactionaries more dangerously than has yet been realized.

President Truman's legislative program stands about where it stood at the beginning of his administration. The gains and losses thus far come close to canceling out. Looking ahead, the Administration seems to stand a fairly good chance for passage of the 65-cent-minimum wage, emergency housing and extension of price-control measures in this session, provided that public pressure continues. The outlook for other parts of the President's extensive program is much less bright.

To achieve necessary economic stability, the vast majority of Truman's program must be pushed through. To do that requires immediate improvement in Administration leadership on the Hill, and a more progressive Congress after the elections. It is hard to see how either will result unless President Truman shows the ability to grasp the lesson of Ickes' resignation message and act on it without bitterness or resentment. If the Democratic Party under Truman in the next few months becomes the really active liberal party, the American people will give it the full trust and support necessary for victory in 1946 and 1948.

Peacetime Uses of Nuclear Power

by Alvin W. Weinberg

THE ATOMIC ERA began on December 2, 1942, when the first nuclear chain reaction was established in Chicago. It came at a time when one problem—winning the war—was important to the exclusion of all else. The relatively few scientists and technologists who had access to the details of atomic know-how were thinking about bombs instead of power plants. And these men represented a very small fraction of America's technical personnel; most scientists were hardly aware of the significance of Oak Ridge and Hanford.

The urgency of war problems has left little time for the few scientists with sufficient knowledge of nuclear engineering to reflect on the future possibilities of nuclear energy. The extreme compartmentalization in the organization of the work has denied the latest facts concerning uranium deposits to those scientists who need them to establish the economic feasibility of uranium power. And the exclusion of non-project scientists from technical knowledge because of wartime security has made really original ideas about future applications remarkably scarce. Thus we open the new era with ideas for applications of the power source which are generally very much less revolutionary than the atomic bomb. Nevertheless, the field is so enormous that even the applications which we have already thought about form a long list.

In the long run we can expect nuclear fission to compete on a strictly economic basis with ordinary power sources. But nuclear power as contrasted to coal power is unique in perhaps five essential respects. It is in the exploitation of these unique features rather than in particular economic advantages that we can expect the immediate future of nuclear power to lie. I list these distinguishing characteristics and their implications for peacetime as follows:

1. *The release of nuclear power is accompanied by the production of enormously intense radiations.* At Hiroshima many people were killed by the gamma and neutron rays emitted by the atomic explosion. At Hanford, Oak Ridge and Chicago, the chain-reacting piles are shielded by enormous concrete or steel shields. But the same rays which cause such damage in massive doses, can, like the rays from the sun, have therapeutic effects when given in moderate doses. Some cancers seem to yield to neutron radiation of the sort that is emitted by our chain-reacting piles. Such piles can be built immediately for large-scale radiation therapy—for the simultaneous treatment of perhaps 100 patients at each pile. In this capacity piles would serve, on a very much enlarged scale, the same function as large hospital X-ray-therapy units.

A second application of high-intensity radiation is to industrial chemistry. Just as plants synthesize sugar under the influence of sunlight, so many other chemical reactions—some of considerable importance industrially—can be made to proceed in the intense radiation field of a chain-reacting pile.

2. *The release of nuclear power is accompanied by the production of radioactive substances in enormous*

This is one of a series of articles under the general title, "Atomic Power: Next Steps," based on testimony before the special committee on atomic energy of the United States Senate. The next will be "The Alternatives We Face," by Dr. John A. Simpson.

Dr. Alvin M. Weinberg, a theoretical physicist, originally from the University of Chicago, worked on the plutonium project at Chicago and at Oak Ridge, where he is chief of the Theoretical Physics section of Clinton Laboratories. —THE EDITORS

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Why is it that we close our eyes to things . . .

quantity. For the first time mankind has at its disposal radioactive materials in sizable quantities. A chain-reacting pile can render practically all of the elements radioactive: it is like a modern King Midas who turns common substances into radioactive ones instead of into gold (although even gold can be made by irradiating mercury). The uses which we can foresee for these radioactive atoms are medical, scientific and industrial. For example, the waste from the Hanford plant contains enough radioactive material completely to supersede radium in its uses as either a medical therapeutic agent or as a means of industrially testing the soundness of metal castings.

From the scientific viewpoint, the importance of radioactive tracers—that is, atoms, particularly carbon, which have been rendered radioactive by neutron bombardment—cannot be exaggerated. One of the most important problems of science is "How do plants manufacture sugar out of carbon dioxide, water and sunlight?" If man could duplicate this photosynthesis process, first in the laboratory and then on an industrial scale, the bountifulness of the earth would be multiplied indefinitely. The world's fuel and food supplies would be assured as long as the sun continues to emit light. The most powerful tool at the chemists' disposal for understanding, and perhaps eventually duplicating, photosynthesis is radioactive carbon, a by-product of nuclear power. If, as a result of our greatly increased production of radioactive carbon, the riddle of photosynthesis is solved, that, and not power plants or atomic bombs, will stand as the greatest achievement of nuclear power.

Besides radioactive carbon, other isotopes will be useful for general chemical research, and possibly also for routine control of industrial processes and routine diagnosis of certain diseases. There is every reason to believe that the large-scale production of radioactive isotopes for chemical, biological and industrial uses will develop into a very considerable industry, perhaps comparable to the present-day pharmaceutical industry.

3. *The release of nuclear power requires no oxygen.* The atomic fire at Hanford burns without oxygen. Here is an ideal fuel for use in a submarine; with it a ship can travel as fast underwater as on the surface. The navy of the future, if there is any, will consist of submarines which will travel a thousand feet deep in the ocean. The safest place on this tortured planet, should an atomic war break out, will be far undersea.

4. *Nuclear energy is extremely concentrated.* One pound of fissionable material releases as much energy as several million pounds of ordinary fuel. Nuclear power will therefore be particularly advantageous wherever the bulkiness of ordinary fuels is undesirable. Regions of the earth such as the Arctic, in which the cost of fuel transportation makes large-scale power or heating developments unfeasible, could be supplied economically with nuclear power.

Space travel, which has until recently been deemed fantastic, must now be considered more seriously. But progress will be made only when the rocket experts are allowed to speak freely with the atomic-power experts.

5. *The release of nuclear power is accompanied by the production of more fissionable material.* At Hanford, U-235 is destroyed but plutonium, which is also fissionable, is produced. Thus a nuclear-power plant is unique in that at the same time it burns up its fuel it produces new fuel. The emphasis on nuclear power can therefore be shifted somewhat: either one can consider the fissionable material to be a by-product of the power or, as at Hanford, one can view the power as a by-product in the production of fissionable and radioactive materials.

From this point of view the economics of nuclear power is rather more like the economics of water power than that of coal power. We often build dams for flood control, irrigation, soil conservation and the like; the power which they produce is in these cases secondary. It is not too important whether the power would compete with coal power; the dams are built anyway. Similarly, we shall build plutonium factories in which the power is a by-product. These plants will, like dams, have a multiplicity of uses.

They will produce plutonium for use in specialized

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power plants. They will produce radioactive materials for technology and medicine. They will yield facilities for scientific research. The cost of the power will not determine whether or not we build the plant, so long as the production of fissionable material is considered a desirable end in itself. And I have no doubt that, even without the atomic bomb, plutonium will always be valuable as an atomic fuel in services such as ship propulsion.

In order to produce plutonium in quantity, an enormous amount of power must be dissipated. We can conceive of a vast complex of large nuclear installations whose many functions include both plutonium and power production. We can properly compare this complex to, say, the Tennessee Valley Authority; it would have a multiplicity of function comparable to that of any of our large hydroelectric systems. This "Atomic Authority" would most naturally be located in a region which is not endowed with water power and is not now served by private or public power. It could become the basis for industrial development of this region in somewhat the same way that the TVA serves parts of the Southeast.

. . . and then are surprised when they finally burst upon us?

RIGHT NOW there are two problems hampering the development of atomic power. First, because of security, because of general uncertainty, we are sadly short of trained personnel. One distinguished physicist —the man who conceived and to a large extent designed the Hanford plant—has estimated that there are not more than fifteen men in the entire country who have at this moment a sufficiently quantitative grasp of the process adequately to direct the development of a new nuclear-power plant. This does not mean that the field of nuclear power is particularly difficult. Any competent physicist can learn in a year or so all that has been developed in the past five years. But, with security regulations as they are, there is no opportunity for outside individuals to become acquainted with our technical know-how. And nuclear technology will develop normally only when a qualified person with an original idea has access to data which will enable him to develop his idea.

The second problem is more serious. Many writers have dealt with the profound international implications of atomic energy. The international aspects will determine our domestic atomic-energy development, since a satisfactory control system will enable us to relax our security regulations and atomic power will develop normally. Without a control system, its development will be stifled by secrecy and fear.

Evidently a nuclear-power plant, which by its very nature is also an atomic-bomb plant, must be controlled very much more drastically than a present-day steam plant. There are those who suggest that a complete halt in the development of atomic-power plants is the only way to ensure against the use of atom bombs. If by not building power plants we could really avoid war, I should agree with such proposals. But atomic power can cure as well as kill. It can fertilize and enrich a region as well as devastate it. It can widen man's horizons as well as force him back into the cave. We cannot, and we must not, keep atomic power in a Pandora's box, afraid to open it because we fear what might happen if it is misused. Rather we must develop atomic power, and we must develop the power to control it.

The drawings on this and the preceding page are the work of Lieutenant Commander Robert Osborn, now on terminal leave from the United States Navy. Every naval aviator is familiar with the many hundreds of "Dilbert" drawings made by Commander Osborn in the course of an educational program designed to keep naval aviators from killing themselves through carelessness or stupidity. For this purpose he did a series of 2,000 posters showing mistakes to be avoided, in all phases of air combat, and 1,200 cartoons for the series of "Sense Books" (Oxygen Sense, Pilot Error Sense, etc.) which, with the posters, formed the "cornerstone of the highly successful educational and training programs of Naval Aviation in World War II," to quote from the citation which accompanied his Legion of Merit. Now living in Salisbury, Connecticut, Mr. Osborn hopes to apply the same principles of education by cartoon to civilian needs and uses.

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Are Stocks Too High?

by George Soule

EVERYBODY KNOWS that a bull market cannot last forever. The spectacular rise in stocks which collapsed in October, 1929, had by January of that year continued as long as the present one. The bull market which ended early in 1937 had a shorter life than this has already enjoyed. If the special circumstances of war and reconversion are taken into account, a better parallel may be with 1920; that spree lasted less than two years after the Armistice. The question therefore arises, how high have stock prices gone; are they already "too high"?

How Much Has the Market Risen?

The Dow-Jones average of industrial stock prices rose from the wartime low of 93 on April 28, 1942, to 202 on January 19, 1946: that is, it more than doubled. Between the same dates, the average price of railroad stocks rose from 28 to 67, or about 140 percent. Stocks have since then been both lower and higher, but the percentage of increase has not changed much.

Almost half of this rise has occurred after the middle of 1945. With the defeat of Japan, postwar speculation supplied an irresistible upward drive. Strike troubles and the uncertainties of price control have led to several temporary setbacks and recoveries since the middle of January.

These figures represent a broad average; some stocks have naturally done better than others. The 290 most active listed common stocks made a larger percentage advance in 1945 than in any year since 1933, when we experienced the first post-depression recovery and prices were extremely low. They rose 58.2 percent in the past year.

In 1945, according to the *Magazine of Wall Street*, liquor stocks rose 180 percent, public utilities 138 percent, department stores 122 percent, textiles 118 percent, airlines 103 percent. More than the average increase was registered by the active stocks in paper, amusements, meat-packing, investment trusts, automobiles, auto accessories, construction, drugs and toilet preparations, non-ferrous metals and aircraft. Less than the average increase occurred in food, railroads, steel and radio, with finance and shipbuilding stocks lagging at the rear of the active group.

The heaviest trading has been in the low-priced issues. One explanation commonly offered is that people think they can make more money by investing $1,000 in shares costing $10 apiece than in shares costing $100. It is supposed that they expect prices to rise by cents or dollars per share rather than by percentages. Perhaps some are as simple-minded as that. Or they may believe that low prices are an indication of greater possibility of appreciation during prosperity. This may be true, but it is not necessarily so. Such old stand-bys as New York Central, Packard, RCA, have had low prices relative to other issues. No doubt the phenomenon is partly accounted for by the fact that the public is in the market and a small stake can be more widely diversified in low-priced shares than in more costly ones.

At any rate, the prices of the 15 most active stocks in 1945 ranged at the end of the year between $3 and $33 per share. Their sales, according to *Your Investments*, accounted for about 17 percent of all the sales on the New York Stock Exchange. The average increase in price of 100 low-priced stocks in 1945 was much larger than the average increase in price of 100 high-priced stocks. This seemed to confirm the expectation of the speculators; but as in any speculative market, the speculators' own action was largely what made their expectations come true—at least for the short run. It does not follow that the low-priced stocks will continue to gain more than the others, or will fall less.

HOW HIGH are present levels compared with those of former bull markets? Forty-eight common stocks, says *Barron's Weekly*, rose above their 1929 highs before 1942, and are now still higher. These include largely textile issues and chain stores. Textiles were depressed all through the twenties and were in difficulties at the end of that decade. Chain stores have grown with the years. Thirty additional common stocks rose above 1929 for the first time in 1945, their average rise, high to high, being 33 percent. They include not only textiles and chain stores but meat-packing, oil, automobile parts, evaporated milk, war industries and others. These stocks have had ups and downs in earning power; many had deficits in 1929.

The market as a whole ended 1945 a bit below the 1937 peak, and has since been above it. Twelve groups were, on January 1, 1945, still below their 1937 highs, though some of them had risen markedly. These were agricultural implements, baking, construction, copper and brass, finance companies, furniture, metals, railroad equipment, railroads, realty (which rose 76 percent during the year), steel and iron, tobacco and variety stores. Some of them, like finance companies and construction, suffered from war restrictions.

This is the second of a series of articles under the general title, "The Big Bull Market." The third will deal with the question of "The Future of the Market." – THE EDITORS

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Investment Yields

How high is "too high"? There is no law which forbids stocks to rise above their level in 1929 or 1937. There is no automatic trigger which, as in a pile-driver, sends the market crashing down when it has reached a certain height. Historical parallels are illuminating, but have no precise application to new situations. All that they tell us now is that, according to previous standards, stock prices seem to be nearer the high end of the thermometer than the low end. The mercury *may* burst the tube.

There is an old legend that people invest in securities in order to earn a return on their capital. According to this legend (propagated by the writers of fairy stories who used to be known as economists), thrifty people, by sacrificing present satisfactions, save money. The financial markets offer them an opportunity to place this money where it will be available at need, and in the meantime will earn a return because it is used in production or distribution of goods or services.

The legend further relates that the savers will be tempted to save and invest more by a high return, and will be discouraged from doing so by a low return. Within this general set-up, those who value the safety of their funds more than their income will invest in relatively safe securities like government bonds, which yield less, while those who stress larger income will be willing to take a greater risk by buying common stocks of business enterprises, which yield more.

If all this were true, we should be able to learn something about whether stock prices were too high by inspecting the yield of stocks at current prices and dividends. For if the yield were too low, people would stop saving and investing so much, and if little more could be earned from common stock than from bonds, most investors would sell stocks and buy bonds. Either action would make stock prices fall.

The stocks in the Dow-Jones industrial average yielded, on April 28, 1942, 7.68 percent. A person who invested $1,000 in these stocks on that day would have had from them an annual income of $76.80. If, on January 9, 1946, he had invested $1,000 in the same stocks, his annual income would have been, at current dividend rates, $33.40. The yield has thus been cut by more than half, being at the later date 3.34 percent. A similar fall has occurred in the yield of railroad stocks.

Anyone who in 1942 wanted greater safety, and bought prime bonds, would have received interest on his thousand-dollar investment amounting to $27.40. The temptation to buy stocks instead was therefore considerable, the difference in yield being $49.80 per thousand dollars of investment. In January of this year prime bonds yielded $25.60 per thousand, as against $33.40 for industrial stocks. Is that $8 margin enough to compensate for the supposed difference in safety?

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Old Game Is Booming Again

The Cleveland Trust Company *Bulletin* wrote, at the end of 1945, "stock prices, when measured as multiples of their dividends, are higher than they have ever been previously except in the last months of the great bull market of 1929."

If you have bought Series E United States War Bonds and keep them to maturity you will have received 2.9 percent on your investment. If you bought Series F, you will earn 2.53 percent. Series G yields 2.5 percent. If you bought Chrysler common stock on January 23, 1946, present dividends would bring you 2.2 percent—less than the least remunerative government bonds. American Cyanamid would have yielded on that date 2.5 percent—exactly the same as Series G bonds. So would Montgomery Ward. Many other common stocks would have earned little more.

If you did not insist on the unequaled safety of government bonds, you could, in January, 1946, have obtained a return of 4.19 percent by buying Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe preferred stock—a high-grade security. This is larger than the present yield of any one of 17 common-stock issues recently recommended by a large investment service for "appreciation possibilities combined with income return." The list contains some of the greatest and most prosperous of corporations. Santa Fe preferred would also have brought you a higher yield than 11 out of 19 common stocks recommended by the same house as "conservative income-producing" with high market stability.

Why Stocks Are Bought

If the economists' fairy tale about the motives and actions of security purchasers were true, stock prices would, without any doubt whatever, now be too high by the test of yield. But it is a bedtime story.

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Most of the savings accumulated during the war did not come from voluntary sacrifice of current satisfactions. Those who did pinch themselves have a minor part of the liquid funds. The American people as a whole during the war consumed more goods than ever in history, and were prevented from consuming still more only because the goods were not available or were rationed. Savings were, in effect, compulsory. Business concerns could not spend their profits, however hard they tried. Savings are being made now, not because desire to consume is low relative to the incentive to save, but because current incomes are more than enough to buy what is for sale. Reduction of stock yields therefore does not diminish the huge accumulations of liquid funds available for investment. The attractions of current consumption may not reduce savings for some time to come—even if the economists were right about normal times, as they probably are not.

And of course it is not true that most stock buyers are "investing" for present income return; they look not at current dividends, but at what they hope business will pay. Or they are hedging against expected inflation in commodity prices and the cost of living. Many are engaged in pure speculation. They don't care at all about either safety or yield. They want to make a lot of money with the windfalls left in their hands by the war, and are buying stocks because they expect to sell at a higher price.

Yet there is some significance in safety. There *are* people who care about it—people who are not primarily on the make, but have funds to protect. There are conservatively conditioned trustees, with long experience. There are insurance companies. Even banks retain some elementary caution. The Carnegie Corporation, a great philanthropic foundation, enlarged its holdings of common stocks in 1940, 1941 and 1943, but sold more than it bought in 1944 and 1945. Great financial institutions and market-wise large investors did most of their stock buying when prices were low, and presumably are now feeding out their holdings while speculators and small investors are bidding prices up.

To most people, however, the question whether stock prices are too high means simply whether they are going to keep on going up. Any answer involves prediction. Many cheery predictions are now being made in Wall Street. But good prediction involves the difficult job of attempting to balance against one another the numerous forces at work. Consideration of such questions will require another article.

We Look in the Mirror

by Ralph G. Martin

Drawn for the New Republic *by Bernadine Custer*

With me, the whole thing is strictly personal. Ever since that show opened on Broadway, I've been getting all kinds of telephone calls from friends of mine:

"Hey, Ralphie, I saw that show last night. Terrific. By any chance, could you get me an introduction to that beautiful blonde hunk of stuff?"

I have many friends. Some of them are a little peculiar. I expect anything. So I was calm when I asked, "What show? What stuff?"

The laugh at the other end of the line was loud and slightly sneering. "Quit acting coy, boy," said my friend who is a song-plugger, when he works. "You know damn well what I'm talking about. I'm talking about that show where Kanin gives you such a sweet publicity plug. Hell, I didn't even know you knew Kanin."

Our telephone is next to the bed. I paused a second to stretch out and relax, and then spoke as soothingly as I could, "Take it easy, Harry. If you've been

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drinking too much, go home. I know how it is."

But before many more telephone calls, I had pieced together the story. It seems Garson Kanin had written a play called "Born Yesterday" and the hero was a *New Republic* reporter, recently discharged from the Army. And since I was the only such person on the *New Republic*, everybody I knew naturally thought it was I.

I think that some of my closest friends really believed me when I told them that I had never met Garson Kanin, that I hadn't invested any money in the play and that I really couldn't get them any free passes.

The rest are skeptics who have been bothering me day and night until gradually I got tired of denying everything.

Of course I knew Kanin. Old friends. Sort of cousins in a way. That blonde babe in the play? Sure, I'd get him an introduction. But it would take some time. There was a long waiting list, you know. Heh heh heh heh.

Soon I was even intimating that not only did I give good old Gar some of his best ideas, but maybe I even helped him to write part of it.

After a few days of living in this pleasant dream world, I decided that I had better really meet this Kanin, see the play, get acquainted with the beautiful blonde and have a long talk with the guy who was supposed to be me.

I MET Kanin at Dinty Moore's. He ordered frankfurters and beans and then almost nipped our friendship in the bud. That was because he started laughing when I told him the trouble his play had caused me.

Later, in between shrimps, I asked him if he knew anybody on the *New Republic*, if he ever read the magazine and how did it get in the play, anyway?

Well, he knew Helen Fuller and Mike Straight well enough to say hello. As for reading the magazine, yes, of course. And the reason he used it in the play was that he needed an outstanding liberal magazine and there were only two he knew of, and he liked the *New Republic* better than the *Nation*, that's all.

"Besides," continued Kanin, "I wanted a liberal character who was clear and complete in himself, who wouldn't waste a lot of dramatic time telling about his background. And this reporter is just that. All I have to say about him is that he's from the *New Republic* and everybody knows just what kind of guy he is."

With that as a friendly base, Kanin talked about the importance of a play having an idea in it. Nothing preaching or obvious, but subtle and sugar-coated so that it made people laugh and think at the same time.

Suddenly Kanin almost choked, he was laughing so hard. "I'm going to keep a close check on the *New Republic's* circulation figures," he said in between chokes, "and if it starts zooming, I'm going to see

Bruce Bliven about getting a cut. And if they ever make a picture out of it, maybe I'll drop around and see how much the *Nation* will have to offer."

He laughed loudly at this. He thought it was very funny.

A half-hour later, I was standing in the SRO section of the Lyceum Theatre when an old friend spotted me, and came over to jab me in the ribs, wink significantly and say, "Gonna get a look at yourself in the mirror, huh?" I tried to sneer and think of something flip but I could only manage a weak smile.

In the early part of the first act, I found myself fiercely on the defensive when the politician was advising the crooked millionaire about the *New Republic* reporter, Paul Verrall (Gary Merrill):

"This is one of the few fellows to look out for. Can't afford to be mysterious with him. Thing to do is to take him in. Then he doesn't go poking. Treat him like a woman you're trying to make."

After that last line, I was ready for anything. But then, when Paul came in, expertly snapping back the fast dialogue, I knew that somehow he'd get alone fine, that everything would come out all right in the end for the play and the *New Republic*.

Later, when the millionaire decided to hire Paul ($200 a week) to educate his not-so-dumb mistress Billie Dawn, I knew that the *New Republic's* position was better than ever, that Paul had done what I would have done, if I weren't married. Especially when Billie comes into the room in that tight nightgown, swishing and swaying in a sort of slow waltz time. And then, later, when Paul says to her, "This isn't work. I like it," I instinctively felt that he was telling the truth.

However, I was disappointed in his almost negative reaction to her pointed question about their future rela-

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tionship: "Are you one of these talkers, or are you gonna be interested in a little action?" But the situation seemed to take a more specific course at the end of the scene, when her positivism asserted itself in a long kiss, after which she said, "We'll educate each other."

I think it was then that I soul-searched myself, reviewing my assignments for the past three months: Detroit strike, housing shortage, veteran problems, the minority question—no, I had never had a subject quite like Billie Dawn.

SITTING in her dressing room during the intermission, the closer I got to Billie Dawn (Judy Holliday), the better assignment she seemed to be.

"But I'm not a dumb broad," she said with a toothpaste smile, "I even read the *New Republic*." She thought that even though the magazine was a little high-pitched intellectually sometimes, it said intelligent, important things.

The reason she was so crazy about the play, she continued, was because it took a dirty, hard truth and said something vital about it and made it appetizing and easily digestible.

From there the discussion bounced back to chorus girls. For a minute, she was Billie Dawn again. "Maybe you, too, ought to hunt yourself up a cute simple chorus girl and do some converting," she said with an obvious wink. I was busy telling her about my happy marriage and how beautiful my Marge was, when the buzzer rang and I had to get out.

In the second act, Paul asked Billie if she had read his article in the *New Republic* and she said she had read it twice and it was the best thing she had ever read but she didn't understand a single word. I'm afraid I didn't think that was as funny as most people did.

Things get really dramatic in the third act when Billie hands Paul enough evidence to convict the crooked millionaire. Then Paul gets his neck choked, scornfully refuses a $100,000 bribe to return the evidence and comes back roaring, "What the hell do you guys want, anyway? You've got all the oil and all the lumber and all the steel and coal and aluminum. What do you want now? All the people? All the laws?"

After the show, when I walked into Paul's dressing room and introduced myself by saying, "I'm from the *New Republic*," he did a double take and started laughing. And when his friend walked in a minute later, Paul introduced me by saying, "This guy's the real thing. He's actually from the *New Republic*." They both laughed. I just smiled.

Shortly afterwards, we were both sitting in the back of a radio studio during a dress rehearsal of the Helen Hayes program and we were stage-whispering to each other. He had once sent a *New Republic* subscription to his uncle in Maine, he whispered. A friendly relationship thus firmly established, he went on to give his conception of the *New Republic* reporter in the play. His idea was that maybe the reporter once wanted to be a teacher and that's probably why he took that Pygmalion-processing job—to see what he could do with that beautiful raw material. The $200 a week really wasn't important, Gary said.

At this point I wanted to object mildly, but Gary had another question popping: Could a *New Republic* reporter really fall in love with a girl like that?

After seriously considering this for a second, picturing each name on the masthead, and remembering Billie at close range, I answered that I thought it was perfectly possible.

Gary got his cue, and after a quick change into Anne Rutledge's early sweetheart, he returned to further discussion of "Born Yesterday." The line he had liked best had been cut, he whispered again. It was when the millionaire says, "I've got all the money. How can they lick me?" And then the quick comeback, "But the Republicans had all the money, too, remember?"

The last thing Gary said before I left was that he believed in this *New Republic* character. He believed in his honesty and his intelligence and that there was nothing phony about him.

Well, the same goes for the play. There's only one thing, though. The idea of *New Republic* reporters converting sexy chorus girls into socially conscious creatures is a most attractive proposition but, unfortunately, completely impractical: there just aren't enough *New Republic* reporters to go around, and besides my Marge wouldn't like it.

Note to the Boss: In the play, the *New Republic* reporter gets $125 a week.

Note to Ralph Martin: The *New Republic* reporter in the play is also making $200 a week on the side, educating Billie Dawn, remember? – ED.

Weed Puller

Under the concrete benches,
Hacking at black hairy roots—
Those lewd monkey-tails hanging from drainholes—
Digging into the soft rubble underneath,
Webs and weeds,
Grubs and snails and sharp sticks,
Or yanking tough fern-shapes,
Coiled green and thick, like dripping smilax,
Tugging all day at perverse life:
The indignity of it!—
With everything blooming above me,
Lilies, pale-pink cyclamen, roses,
Whole fields lovely and inviolate—
Me down in that fetor of weeds,
Crawling on all fours,
Alive, in a slippery grave.

THEODORE ROETHKE

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UNO as Sounding Board

by Saville Davis

London (by radio)

THE WESTERN WORLD may soon forget, but the Eastern world should long remember, what happened here this week. The independence movements of all non-self-governing peoples were made the direct concern of the United Nations.

This was due partly to the passage of the Dulles resolution by the Assembly. The statement was worded in general terms based on the UNO Charter's "declaration regarding non-self-governing territories." But its special emphasis on areas not coming under the trusteeship provisions, and its kindling language—"a sacred trust . . . to accept certain specific obligations, including the obligation to develop self-government and to assist the inhabitants in the progressive development of their free political institutions"—can hardly help but encourage independence movements to put pressure on their colonial rulers.

But if the Assembly furnished the principles, Russia's action in the Security Council put the teeth in them. In the case of Java the Soviet Union, through the Ukraine, took advantage of a member's right to bring any matter before the Council for full un-vetoed discussion, and the Security Council suddenly became a world political forum for influencing the colonial issue. The Soviet plan was to state facts and arguments which would be so damaging, in the eyes of the peoples of the East, that the British and Dutch rebuttals would never catch up with them. It matters little what diplomatic formula was finally devised to end the case; the facts were the thing.

The Russians figure that the tempo of resolving the colonial problem depends chiefly on the respective bargaining terms of the master and subject peoples. These terms will inevitably be altered by the powerful sponsorship of independence movements and shrewdly calculated appeals to the sympathies of world opinion from so high and influential a tribune. These were obviously force tactics in a situation where negotiating strength is what counts most. For this purpose they were massively effective, as a close study of Vishinsky and Manuilsky texts will show. One on-looker commented drily, "There's no use reviving the Comintern. The right of political agitation before the Security Council will serve as well."

There seems little chance that Soviet strategy can be blocked by interested parties. It was we and the British who created and safeguarded it. Who would have thought, when Harry Hopkins was dramatically sent to Stalin to break the deadlock at San Francisco, that the right of free discussion unhindered by the veto would be used this way? Did Stalin, perhaps? Up to then, the Soviet delegates had doggedly opposed this right on the ground that it was inconsistent and dangerous to start a process free from veto at the beginning, which would then be very awkward to stop by veto later on.

The Russian tactics before the Council have by now assumed a pattern. They start weak, draw Bevin out, and then jump on him. In the Greek case, he countered with savage power. On the question of Java, however, he first attempted levity. When this fell flat, he sat glowering, and confined himself to rebutting a few points without great enthusiasm, insisting the whole affair was a Dutch internal concern. Van Kleffens followed suit. One gained the impression that they had suddenly perceived what was going on and were trying to drop a hot potato.

The neutral members of the Council provided a real surprise. They took not a weak but a strong position. Only France and Brazil fully supported the British and Dutch view. Four others—the United States, Egypt, China and Australia—meticulously divided their support, absolving the British troops from technical blame but specifically favoring independence for Indonesia. Mexico and Poland strongly supported the Russo-Ukrainian proposal for a commission of inquiry.

In other words, the neutral members vindicated the Ukraine's action in raising this issue before the council, a move which had been widely criticized. They went further. Speaking officially as voting members—in full knowledge that their statements would first materially affect the compromise formula and later would probably enter into the body of the decision by its phrase "taking note of what has been said"—they positively declared for Indonesian self-government. In all, seven out of eleven members rejected the argument that this was an internal Dutch affair.

It is unfair to discuss the case merely in terms of force tactics, although realism is still king here. There was deep earnestness of purpose in much of the debate. Both sides refrained from those excesses of *argumentum ad nationem* which had caused the Greek hearings to break into an ugly flame. And beyond all else, there was a constructive feeling of vital new constitutional development. The practical means have been found for opening world issues which even under the Charter were considered locked in the vaults of sovereignty.

Saville Davis, a member of the staff of the Christian Science Monitor, *has been reporting developments at the UNO meeting in London.*

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Washington Notes

After the Battle

MR. ICKES' first evidence was favorable to Pauley. He was called to the stand by the Senate committee and attacked Max Thornburg, the former petroleum adviser to the Department of State. Thornburg had just been criticizing Pauley. "Oh, oh," I said to myself, "Honest Harold is going to put this nomination over."

Then Senator Tobey began asking Ickes what were his own views of Pauley. "Do I have to testify?" protested Ickes, with one of the poorest shows of reluctance I ever saw. That being settled, Ickes made his charge that Nominee Pauley had told him several hundred thousand dollars in Democratic campaign contributions could be raised if the government dropped its suit to gain title to offshore oil lands. Pauley sat right behind Ickes.

Even then the matter had not come to a breaking point. It was at a later committee hearing, after Pauley had challenged Ickes' memory, that the latter produced his devastating diary and read the phrase, "the rawest proposition ever made to me." Ickes testified with grim, bristling relish.

Act Two was the President's press conference February 7. Mr. Truman stood behind his desk, dapper, smiling, answering quickly. He said he had the utmost confidence in Pauley. He was asked about the Ickes testimony. If Mr. Truman had waited five seconds he could have phrased his reply better and might have saved himself trouble. He didn't. Answering quickly, he said he thought Ickes could be mistaken as well as the rest of us.

Act Three was the climax. The press conference was called at 11:30 a.m. I got there at 11 and the room was already jammed. I counted 11 cameramen. The meeting was adjourned to the big auditorium of the Interior Department. All told, there were at least 350 there, including perhaps 100 Interior Department employees.

Young, red-haired Mrs. Ickes, looking very grim and loyal, sat beside her husband. It was a big scene. Ickes, ruddy-faced, jutting-jawed, formidable, about as lovable as a buzz-saw but always with an endearing, lurking, small-boy grin in the corner of his mouth, played it well. There was a perceptible shudder when he said he didn't care to stay in an Administration "where I am expected to commit perjury for the sake of my party." Even here it should be noted that Ickes tried to preserve his freedom of political action. He might still support Truman, he said. He praised the latter's liberal policies. He had a lively brush with *PM's* I. F. Stone, over why he himself had named and retained oil-man Ralph Davies as deputy petroleum administrator. He ended by attacking Stone, too.

I went away, curiously enough, sore at everybody. Chiefly, I suppose, I was unhappy about the state of the Union. Somebody has said that Ickes must be terribly lonely, knowing that he is the only righteous man in the world. This is unfair, of course, but he has a habit of overplaying his hand. He qualified that statement about "perjuring himself" in answer to reporters' questions. Certainly it was his duty to tell the truth about Pauley, a miserable appointment. But the declaration that Mr. Truman never gave him an opportunity to explain his evidence in advance seems unconvincing. Ickes is no shrinking violet, and as a cabinet minister owed a big responsibility to his President. Furthermore, Mr. Ickes, at 72, was just on the point of leaving the cabinet anyway, and the suspicion keeps intruding itself that, perhaps unconsciously, he could visualize the grand old row he could kick up by holding back his diary and then suddenly springing it with a bang.

So I got little comfort from thinking about Mr. Ickes. But on the other hand, there was no happiness at all in thinking about Mr. Pauley. The one thing President Truman simply cannot survive, politically, is a scandal. Like most Washington reporters, I have studied Mr. Truman's record. He is personally honest and is now trying to do his utmost for the country. But any fair review of the Pendergast machine in which Truman got his start is horrifying. It wasn't just a Mayor Hague dictatorship; it was in its final stages a corrupt, vile and disgraceful plunderbund, thriving on crime, narcotics and prostitution. Harry Truman kept out of it, but he indirectly adapted himself to it. That is why the suspicion of lax administration is so dangerous to him now. Mr. Ickes, in effect, as an old, faithful curmudgeon, has tried to give him a friendly warning (Ickes' friendly warnings are delivered with brickbats). What can you do if the President won't take it?

The new wage-price policy is a breach in the inflation line, perhaps necessary under the circumstances, and the Truman Administration is now trying to do the hardest of all military feats, retire to a previously prepared position while presenting a strong front to the enemy. It is frequently said that the answer to inflation is production, but the crucial question at this stage, to quote the February Federal Reserve Board *Bulletin*, just out, is "whether an excessive increase in private buying efforts will occur while many lines of civilian goods are still in scarce supply." Total estimated liquid assets of individuals and business were $65.1 billion in 1939; today they are over $225 billion. This is "hot money"—hip-pocket dynamite—cash, bank deposits and federal securities capable of bidding up the cost of living sky-high. The only thing that restrains it is the good sense of the public and the continuing hope that the line will be held at the new position.

Notes.—Weakness of the Democrats doesn't make the Republicans more liberal; Ickes' blast didn't aid Stassen, it aided Bricker. . . . The 1946 Employment Act, which leaves out the words "full employment," sets up what, in effect, is a potentially important three-man national planning board to act with a new Congressional Joint Committee. . . . Since Congress abolished the old National Resources Planning Board, America has been the world's only great power staggering along without any planning agency at all. . . . The new Snyder-Bowles arrangement is a truce, not an armistice; it's hard to see how it can last. . . . The public hasn't realized, even yet, the famine conditions abroad; thousands will perish if America doesn't carry out her food pledges and commitments.

Washington T. R. B.

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The Bandwagon

Stewart [Senator from Tennessee] asked if Hannegan "thinks a Democratic President can be elected in 1948 without the aid of Southerners." Overton [Senator from Louisiana] recalled that anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax bills also were sponsored by Democratic Presidents, and asked: "How long will the National Democratic Party continue to bite the hand that feeds it?" – *From the Washington* Post.

WILSON OF GE CALLS FACTS BOARDS FUTILE

Those Already Operating Seem to Seek Ways to Raise Pay, He Tells Senate Hearing. – *Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

The "economy bloc" supporting the $90 million bill scored its initial success in cutting out of the University of California's priority list $1,200,000 for a reflecting telescope at the Lick Observatory at Mt. Hamilton in Santa Clara County. . . . "What is the urgency of this telescope up there on the mountain for two or three people to look through?" Collier [State Senator] asked. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Dough, Re, Mi

Stella began her singing career in San Francisco in the early 30's. Stella herself was only 18 when a friend took her into a San Francisco speakeasy. After a couple of gins she began to sing and when she awoke in her room the next morning she had $30, which she thinks must have come from singing. – *From an interview in* PM.

Business-as-Usual

"No foreigner need ever go hungry in New York if he has the money to pay for food. . . ." – *Statement by the Regional Plan Association as quoted in the New York* Times.

Them As Has, Gits

Although rank will not be a factor in determining priority, transportation of dependents at government expense is authorized only for dependents of officers, master, first, technical and staff sergeants and some civilian employees. Dependents of sergeants, corporals, privates first class and privates must pay their own way. – *From the Chicago* Sun.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Germany's Anti-Nazis

SIR: To one who has in a measure participated in the conduct of civil affairs under AMG in Germany, Professor Gabriel A. Almond's article, "How Many Anti-Nazi Germans?" which appeared in the February 4 issue of the *New Republic*, is particularly interesting. It should provide the answer to many of those who have been asking the question: "Are there any good Germans left in Germany who can be relied upon to revive democratic institutions there?" On the showing of Professor Almond, it is clear that the question may be answered correctly in the affirmative. Many of us who served in Germany are in a position to support his findings. That an appreciable number, although small in proportion to the total population, of anti-Nazis of long standing survived the concentration camps was one of the amazing discoveries which came to light in the early months of the occupation. . . .

I think that examination will reveal that the encouragement and utilization of proved anti-Nazis in the municipal and rural administrations and in the provisional German regional civil governments recently established in the United States zone are characterized by unevenness. The record is better in Greater Hessen, for example, than in Bavaria; better in Frankfurt than in Munich. There is no question to this observer but that, as Professor Almond states, "among the Germans today the only elements with courage and constructive plans for the future are anti-Nazis—those who can look back on an unbroken record of opposition to National Socialism." They are "the only sureties which Germany can offer for a democratic future." . . .

There is but one point on which I wish to take issue with Professor Almond. He states that "it is not without significance that only the Nazis and the conservative business circles in Germany favor an indefinite occupation, while the anti-fascists eagerly await the moment of emancipation and independence." This is not the attitude of the German progressive forces everywhere in the United States occupation zone. It depends largely on the type of treatment these groups are receiving at the hands of the local Military Government detachments. In Frankfurt, for example, the labor leaders with whom I came into contact were keenly aware of the role which the Allied armies have played in achieving the liberation of Germany from Hitler and felt that the continuation of United States occupation for some time to come was necessary if they were to succeed in cleaning out the last remnants of the Nazi elements from the economic and political life of Germany and assume the leadership themselves. On the other hand, "the conservative business circles" in and around Frankfurt are, for the most part, antagonistic to the occupation because they are denied the free hand they desire in the conduct of their affairs. Whether this picture or that of Professor Almond will become typical of Germany in the future only time will tell.

Chevy Chase, Md. SAM LISS

Some Facts about Palestine

SIR: In your issue of January 28, you published a letter of Mr. Samir Shamma of the Arab Office in Washington, who claims to be opposed to "poisoning . . . the minds of the American people and beclouding the issue" [of Palestine]. He himself, however, does precisely that by introducing vague statements which have no foundation in fact or are biased and grossly exaggerated. . . .

Speaking mildly, it is an exaggeration to put the number of Arabs killed in the riots of 1936-39 at 20,000, and those "hanged by the British Mandatory Power" at 1,500. The truth is that in the years 1936-39 only 29 Palestinians were sentenced to death by the regular courts (1936, 8; 1937, 9; 1938, 2; 1939, 4—*Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1943*, p. 168). The military courts, introduced in 1937, sentenced 21 Arabs to death in that year and 54 persons in 1938; actual executions amounted to only a fraction of the sentences (in 1937, only 4—*Great Britain and Palestine: 1915-39*, page 101). The number

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of Arabs killed in the riots amounted to not more than 3,000 (in 1936 the number was 800—or 1,000 according to the estimate of the Royal Commission—some 200 in 1936 and 1,624 in 1938, making a total of 2,824).

Similarly untrue is such a statement as: "I wonder whether you know how many Jewish inhabitants of Palestine wish sincerely to emigrate from Palestine." Where are the facts to bolster this statement? . . . Of the 6.5 million DP's who were found in liberated Europe in May, 1945, more than 70 percent were repatriated by the end of August, 1945 (New York *Times*, August 30, 1945), and since then a part of those remaining have also been repatriated. However, only a few thousand Jewish DP's have been repatriated, and a good many of them are fleeing from the countries to which they had returned because of continued anti-Jewish terror.

One may also doubt if both the Arab League and the Arab Higher Committee are really the spokesmen of the Arab "common man" in Palestine. Not only are some organized Arab groups opposed to both the Arab League and the Committee, but the *fellaheen*, who constitute the majority of the Arabs in Palestine, are opposed to these extremist groups. At the time of the riots of the 1930's, notables at Tulkarm even petitioned the District Commissioner for permission to keep arms for defense against Arab extremists. Today, too, many Arabs fear their own extremists, while some Arab groups extended a helping hand to the Jews struggling for free Jewish immigration against Britain's inhuman White Paper policy. In November, 1945, when British soldiers besieged the village of Shefayim (in the northern part of Palestine), it was the Arabs who went through the British lines in order to bring food to the settlers. A few weeks later, when the British forces killed seven settlers in the village of Givat Hayim, the elders of five neighboring Arab villages came to express their condolences and voiced their attitude toward the Jewish settlement by saying: "Troops come and troops go, but our neighbors remain forever."

New York City B. WEINRYB

Farley's Political Future

SIR: The 1946 New York gubernatorial campaign will have greater national significance than any other since 1928, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt missed defeat by a narrow margin of votes. If Dewey runs and wins, he will perhaps break precedent by becoming the first Republican candidate, once defeated in a national race, to rewin the presidential nomination.

Jim Farley belied his reputation for political acumen by amateurishly and prematurely throwing his hat into the ring in an address made before the Bronx County Bar Association last December. If Farley captures the state nomination with the support of a willing group of district leaders, he will, no doubt, revive his national aspirations and attempt to win at least a vice-presidential nomination in 1948. Liberal voters should not forget that Farley, as state chairman of the Democratic Party in 1942, presided over a convention which booed the name of FDR and nominated a candidate who was not a New Dealer. This move ensured the election of Dewey and made him a national figure.

There is grave danger of a similar fiasco next fall. The Republican Party is traditionally the party of conservatism, not to say reaction. If Farley rises to power as his own master, instead of as the ex-errand boy of FDR, then the Democratic Party also will become the party of reaction and the independent voters of the state will have no real choice between the two major parties.

Mr. Truman received Mr. Farley at the White House recently. Now is the time for Mr. Truman to indicate that he not only speaks out for the New Deal in words, but will match his speeches with action in opposing the candidacy of any man who is as essentially anti-New Deal as Farley. We in New York State will be able to tell the nation at large whether the New Deal lives or dies by demonstrating in the months to come whether the candidacy of Jim Farley succeeds or fails.

New York City HENRY WEINER

What Treatment for Italy?

SIR: Some advocate harsh peace terms for Italy. This runs contrary to the moral obligations assumed by the Allies through their own actions.

The Allies asked the Italians to help them. An enemy who is asked, not ordered, to help is no longer an enemy. Help came, abundantly. Italy will be right in feeling deceived if she is dealt with as an enemy.

If the Allies—who were responsible for appointing the government—wanted to treat Italy as an enemy they should have kept in power the former enemies who signed the armistice. They should not have entrusted the government to those who had always been on their side and who represent the only honest, reliable leadership available in the country.

Harsh treatment would mean a defeat for the sincere liberals and democrats, who are none too strong in Italy. This can hardly be reconciled with the duty of the victors to strengthen freedom and democracy in former totalitarian countries.

Bennington, Vt. MASSIMO SALVADORI

It Is in June

SIR: In the article by Louis Falstein, "Veterans Welcome," in the *New Republic* of January 28, Mr. Falstein says that the American Veterans' Committee, Inc., is to hold its constitutional convention in Des Moines in March. A decision has just been made to postpone the convention until June.

New York City MICHAEL J. DE SHERBININ

From The New Republic Mail Bag

L. Hollingsworth Wood, chairman of the International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., appeals for more aid to the 120,000 Spanish Republican refugees in southern France. They are the survivors of about half a million Loyalists who fled Spain in 1939 and who have since then fought the Nazis in Norway, North Africa and Italy, and with the French underground. Today they are "the most destitute group in Europe. They need food, clothing, medicines to live." The Committee wants to send much more than its present shipments. "*New Republic* readers are urged to help keep the Spanish Republicans alive by joining the Committee . . . and by sending clothing and canned-food packages to the IRRC warehouse, 130 Orchard Street, New York 2."

John H. Hershey of 15 Hale Street, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, sends us a copy of his new quarterly, *Latin American Thought*, which "aims at interpreting impartially the social and philosophical thinking of intellectual leaders of Latin America. . . ."

The New York Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission suggests that our New York readers may be interested to know of a rally in Madison Square Garden, Thursday evening, February 28, at 7:30 P.M., which will be the answer to the recent Senate filibuster and show the crusade for a permanent FEPC is not dead. The list of speakers and performers includes, among others, Senators Morse and Wagner, Secretary Schwellenbach, former Mayor LaGuardia, President Green of the AFL, Secretary Carey of the CIO, A. Philip Randolph, Helen Hayes, Katherine Dunham, Canada Lee and John Carradine. Tickets are 60 cents to $2.40 and may be obtained from the Council at 242 East Fourteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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Books in Review

Veblen: A Cautionary View

VEBLEN'S *The Nature of Peace*, which first appeared early in 1917, has now very appropriately been reissued.[1] In it, he set down his thoughts on the war which was raging about him and on the prospects of the peace to come. The work as a whole, however, is not dated by the particular circumstances of the day; Veblen was really writing about a whole historical period from which we are only now beginning to emerge, and the reader today will find the book as stimulating and absorbing as he would have on the morrow of its publication.

The historical period about which Veblen was writing began roughly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the emergence of Germany and Japan as unified imperial states. He saw clearly that these two nations, preserving intact their feudal-dynastic political institutions and appropriating the most modern techniques of production and warfare, had come to dominate the international scene and that they would continue to do so until their entire social structure had been radically and permanently transformed. "The upshot of all this recital of considerations," he says at one point, and the idea frequently recurs, "appears to be that a neutral peace compact may, or it may not, be practicable in the absence of such dynastic states as Germany and Japan; whereas it has no chance in the presence of these enterprising national establishments." This analysis led Veblen to advocate—usually he wrote specifically of Germany with an addendum to the effect that the same applies to Japan, "only more so"—the "disestablishment of the Imperial dynasty and the abrogation of all feudalistic remnants of privilege in the Fatherland and its allies, together with the reduction of those countries to the status of commonwealths made up of ungraded men." Thereafter, there would have to be a long period of surveillance during which the defeated country would be kept strictly disarmed—a period, he warned, much longer than the time required to prepare a new campaign of conquest. Eventually, however, he believed the German people would slough off their aggressive inclinations and acquire the matter-of-fact and essentially peaceful outlook which is fostered by the discipline of modern machine industry.

Generally speaking, Veblen was not very sanguine about the Allies' willingness to go as far as this, and the German revolution of 1918, which accomplished at one stroke much of what he advocated, must have come as a pleasant surprise to him. Nevertheless, his pessimism turned out in the long run to be fully justified. The German revolution, unlike its Russian counterpart, failed to make a clean sweep of the old order; the forces of reaction simply bided their time and eventually, with Allied connivance, returned to power in the doubly vicious and aggressive form of the Hitler dictatorship. Had he lived to see it, Veblen would undoubtedly have been profoundly depressed, for he would have immediately understood the full meaning of the event. At the same time, however, it can hardly be maintained that he would have been surprised.

Reading Veblen's book today, and with the bitter experience of the inter-war years fresh in mind, one finds oneself continually asking: Has the lesson been learned? Will the Allies see it through this time? Has the period about which Veblen wrote with so much insight and understanding really come to a close? Sometimes one cannot help doubting—when, for example, one reads that the American Military Government has given its blessing to a Bavarian royalist party; or when one reads that the British (under a Labor government, too) are already, long before there is conclusive evidence of the destruction of Nazism, arguing for the restoration at a high level of German heavy industry; or when one realizes that the American authorities in Japan have let six months go by without laying the axe to the economic roots of Japanese imperialism. There are plenty of disturbing signs; and yet there are two factors in the situation which are both relatively new and entirely favorable. For one thing, the USSR, which has suffered most from German and Japanese aggression and which has no inherited tenderness for predatory ruling classes, is this time one of the leading Allies and can be counted upon to throw its full influence against the recovery of reaction in Germany and Japan. And, for another thing, the underlying population (to use a favorite phrase of Veblen's) is everywhere fed up with war and realizes more clearly than ever that the greatest danger comes from the countries which have just plunged the world into the most destructive war of all time. The issue has not yet been finally decided, but on balance there is no ground for discouragement.

While history has fully vindicated Veblen's analysis of the role of Germany and Japan, I think one must nevertheless adopt a critical attitude toward much of the reasoning which underlies that analysis and which has a direct relevance to a wide range of vital problems of the day. (In this connection, one must not be misled into supposing that a correct conclusion proves the correctness of the reasoning by which it is reached.) Veblen takes his departure from a theory of nationalism or patriotism—he uses the terms interchangeably—which is very one-sided and, despite appearances to the contrary, unhistorical. According to this theory, the prehistoric forerunner of modern patriotism was a sense of group solidarity which served the utilitarian purposes of survival. Later on, however, when society had become differentiated into classes, there were no longer interests common to the group at large. Nevertheless, the ruling classes fostered the traditional sense of group solidarity which now became essentially a device for hiding real conflicts of interest within the group. During feudal times, this sense of group solidarity became fixed in the form of the loyalty of the subject to his ruler, and it is in this form that it has come down to modern times. In the case of such countries as Imperial Germany and Japan, Veblen considers the relationship to be direct and obvious,

[1] An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation, by Thorstein Veblen. New York: The Viking Press. 367 pages. $3.

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while in the case of the democratic countries he asserts that their "patriotism" or "national spirit" is "after all and at best an attenuated and impersonalized remnant of dynastic loyalty."

Now of course there is much truth in the view that patriotism, especially in its more extreme forms, provides a cover for class as opposed to general interests. But to suggest, as Veblen does, that nationalism is nothing but a hangover from feudal times and that it constitutes a purely negative and destructive force in the modern world, is to leave out one whole epoch of history and to forget that we are passing through another. In the formative stages of modern society, it was bourgeois nationalism which carried the banner against feudal separatism and obscurantism; and in the very country which Veblen often picks out as the only one devoid of a spirit of patriotism—China—we have been witnessing the growth of a nationalism that extends to nearly all classes and basically reflects a desire for independence and social reform. Similarly, in the Soviet Union a new sense of patriotism has grown up in recent years which embraces not only Great Russians, in whose case it might be supposed to be a carry-over from pre-revolutionary times, but also peoples who were previously among the most backward in the world. Thus one cannot avoid the conclusion that Veblen's theory, while it happens to work well in the case of contemporary Germany and Japan, is at best a half-truth which can easily lead to false diagnoses of existing social situations.

The treatment of nationalism is only one example of theoretical inadequacy in Veblen's work. Despite the fact that he is commonly rated as an economist, it must be said that his economic analysis is usually weak and often misleading. He regards capitalism—for which he has a variety of designations among the most frequent of which are "business enterprise" and "the price system"—in a wholly negative light and thus sees only one side, historically the least important side of its nature. In Veblen's view the capitalist operates purely in the realm of finance, and his only relation to production is one of sabotage and obstruction; his object is to mulct the underlying population to the maximum possible degree and to waste the proceeds in ostentatious display. Meanwhile, despite the obstruction of capitalists, mechanical industry expands and becomes increasingly productive. This view leads Veblen to regard the industrial engineer as the truly progressive factor in the modern economy and to postulate the existence of a basic conflict between the capitalist and the engineer. There are four main weaknesses in this theory: (1) it ignores, or at best slurs over, the capitalist's fundamental urge to add to his wealth as distinct from consuming it; (2) it entirely fails to see that accumulation by the capitalist can only take place through the steady expansion of the means of production and employment of more labor; (3) consequently it fails to see that the capitalist in effect calls into existence the industrial engineer, pays him and gives direction to his work; and, finally, (4) it inverts the relationship of engineer to capitalist, which is in reality one of dependence of the former on the latter, and makes it appear as a relation of conflict. It is not hard to understand how this theory of Veblen's became the basis of a variety of crackpot and even semi-fascist schemes in the hands of "followers" who totally lacked his deep historical knowledge and insight.

But the theory also had unfortunate consequences for Veblen's own work. Because he ignored the accumulation process—what modern economists would call the problem of savings and investment—he was debarred from developing an adequate theory of employment and of business fluctuations in general. (What he had to say on these subjects, chiefly in *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, is obscure and seems to center largely on expansion and contraction of the debt structure.) And without such a theory, his views on the economic functions and policies of the state were necessarily one-sided and frequently have a strong air of unreality about them. Indeed, what Veblen wrote on these questions often seems as though it could have come from the pen of a nineteenth-century Manchester liberal who had acquired his economics at second hand from Adam Smith. Tariffs, encouragement of exports, conquest of colonies, etc., are all lumped together as patent economic absurdities which benefit only a few people directly concerned and cause damage and loss to everyone else. In a world of full employment and extreme mobility of productive resources, this would be largely true; but this is just another way of saying how far from true it is in the real world about which Veblen was writing. Since Veblen regarded practically all government economic policies as absurd and harmful, he was forced to assume that they must be entirely linked up with the competitive struggle for prestige which, like its twin brother patriotism, is a carry-over from the feudal period. Thus in Veblen's treatment, many of the most important phenomena of modern social life have the character of an elaborate make-believe centering around the beliefs and customs of the feudal period and having nothing whatever to do with the real interests of living people.

The weaknesses of Veblen's economic analysis show through repeatedly in the book under review, but most clearly in the final chapter entitled "Peace and the Price System." This chapter may be taken as typical of most of Veblen's economic writings: full of brilliant perceptions and insights but based on a theory which is always threatening to put him off the track and not infrequently leads him up a blind alley.

For all the criticisms that can be made against it, however—and there are many that cannot be included in a brief review—it must nevertheless be said that *The Nature of Peace* is a great book which stands head and shoulders above the innumerable contributions to the subject which have flowed in a steady stream from the pens of respectable authorities during the period of the two world wars. That is because Veblen, unlike the respectable authorities, had a profound understanding of history and was able to see the present not as an epoch of anarchy and unreason but as a stage in a long-run process of social change.

Here we have the key, I think, to one of the most puzzling things about Veblen, namely, that the so-called "institutionalist" school which he inspired disintegrated rapidly and never produced anything of lasting value. He was a great man, and he attracted followers because of it. But he was greater than his own theories; and unfortunately greatness cannot be passed on, while theories can.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

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Inside and Out

While You Were Gone: A Report on Wartime Life in the United States, edited by Jack Goodman. New York: Simon and Schuster. 625 pages. $3.50.

IN THIS COLLECTION of 24 articles by 26 writers, Mr. Goodman, a practised hand at compiling other people's writings, has assembled a serviceable and in some respects excellent report on life in the United States proper from Pearl Harbor through V-J Day. Mr. Goodman says that he undertook the job at the suggestion of a soldier friend who thought it would be nice to have a book filling him in on what happened at home while he was away, and the book has been packaged for the veteran trade. But good history is good history, no matter for whom it is written. For all of the many limitations of scissors and paste, this is a very superior representation of the available facts, the observable moods and the detectable changes in American life during the war.

History written at so short a distance can never be anything more than journalism; Mr. Goodman's book is as good as it is because he has made his writers stick to reporting. Unlike most people who get together things of this sort, he has functioned as a real editor, not as a corresponding secretary, and as an editor he has induced his writers to generate light rather than heat. There are plenty of facts here. I should imagine that Paul Gallico's essay on the trivia of the war years—the murder stories, the movie scandals, the genuine and the commercial humor, all the stuff of table talk—will be as valuable ten or fifteen years from now as it is entertaining today. Allan Nevins' analysis of political attitudes is a good, though rather stiff and somber, history of public opinion from prewar disunity to postwar disunity. Russell Lord on agriculture, Margaret Mead on women, Gerald Wendt on science, Thomas L. Stokes on Congress, Wolcott Gibbs on the theatre and Henry Pringle on the war agencies of the government are all first-rate. There is less to be said for the organization of the book than for the quality of the individual pieces. Since writers are never equal in ability and are seldom united in viewpoint, even the best symposium must, I suppose, inevitably reveal imbalance. A few important matters are missing altogether from Mr. Goodman's compilation. For example, a section called "What We Saw, Read and Heard" contains eight long articles, including one on the comics by Milton Caniff, but it has nothing at all on music and art, which were certainly no nearer dead than literature and the stage during the war. There are several political articles, among them a revealing one on the presidency by Jonathan Daniels, but not one of them ever gets around to the presidential campaign of 1944, which was surely as important as Archibald MacLeish's adventures in statesmanship, reported at some length by Henry Pringle. Such omissions do a book no good, but the fact remains that the good pieces Mr. Goodman has got hold of are very good indeed, and the poor ones could have been worse. The writing is competent throughout, and in some instances, as in the articles by Wolcott Gibbs, Paul Gallico, Bosley Crowther (on the movies) and James Thurber (a long Thurberism on the birds and beasties), is genuinely distinguished.

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There is a circumstance worth noting about the poorer pieces in *While You Were Gone*. If ever evidence is needed to establish the value of the professional critic, this book can help provide it. About half of Mr. Goodman's contributors are full-time workers in the field in which they write (*e.g.*, R. J. Thomas in labor, Donald Nelson in industry), while the other half are full-time observers (*e.g.*, Thomas L. Stokes, Wolcott Gibbs). In almost every case, the outsiders do a vastly better job than the insiders. They display more knowledge, deeper perceptiveness and broader powers of analysis. Nor is this simply because so many of the critics are trained writers, while the others are not. If there is one dull and myopic article in the book, it is Norman Corwin's on radio. When Eric Hodgins of *Time* writes about magazines, he begins with magazines in general, skips quickly to the subject of news magazines, and winds up with an article on *Time*. Lester Markel of the New York *Times*, writing on newspapers, moves on in much the same fashion to a defense of the *Times*. Almost every article by an insider is testy, defensive and, in one degree or another, nearsighted. If critics are, as Disraeli said, men who have failed, or would have failed, at doing, we should wish devoutly for large annual crops of failures. RICHARD H. ROVERE

Face to Face

Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady, by Roy Meredith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 368 pages. $7.50.

THIS VOLUME on Brady, the photographer, is a book that to all intents and purposes writes its own review. It is a piece of absorbing reading, a mine of material much of which has never been published before, and a book that is invaluable historically. In this case the jacket can both remain modest and floor us with a partial statement of the contents. Mr. Meredith's search has produced here over a hundred and twenty photographs that are new to us and nearly two hundred portraits of famous people which we have never seen exactly as Brady took them. There is a biography of Brady (1823–96) that covers his earlier success, his story as the "official photographer" of the Civil War and the disaster of those later years of age, ill health and the shameful neglect with which, via Washington, his country repaid his services.

Various points concerning this book will be almost self-evident and every reviewer must have been likely to note them. One is the development of the so-called "wet-plate" process from the old daguerreotype, so that it became possible to make any number of prints from the negative. It was during his triumphs in the London World's Fair competitions that Brady learned of this new method and induced an expert in it, Alexander Gardner, to come with him to New York. From then on, accordingly, it was inevitable that Brady photographs, more and more famous, should be carried far and wide over the country.

A second and tremendous point concerns Brady as the photographer of war. Up to this time painters had depicted heroes and battlefields, in whatever styles were current for the epoch. Save for the participants, war had never before been seen as it is, as it strikes the eye, horrifies or glorifies

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or defeats or exalts, as the case may be. The story of Brady's clumsy wagon equipment, his elaborate organization, number of assistants and widespread efforts—toward the end of 1862 he had, for example, 35 bases of operations—is fully and well told in Mr. Meredith's account. The years after the war, the attempt to get an appropriation from Congress to cover the great sacrifices he had made, in time, money and health, are also fully told. And then as now it was literally true that the Civil War belonged in a sense to Brady; it was Brady's war, precisely as our conceptions of Lincoln especially and many other famous men of the period belong more to Brady than to any of the biographers.

A further inescapable point is that portrait photography—whatever we may say of photography in general—since Brady's main period has not advanced but fallen behind him. In trying to take over the ground and function of painting it has lost many of its own particular assets.

A point, however, that is not so likely to be commented on by many reviewers is the gift of showmanship or salesmanship that Brady had. It appears in his first efforts, his tireless single line of ambition, policy and sense of persons and the public. So far as we can see in these pages, this was never an objectionable trait in Brady; it could better be described as a part of his talent, a talent that he shares with many famous and some great men. His determination to be the photographer of the war at whatever cost and travail was partly this talent and partly the driving of some inner genius more profound and necessary to him.

One of the notable aspects of Mr. Meredith's volume is the inclusion entire, misspelling and all, of Brady's Lantern Slide Lecture, "consisting of lectures and reminiscences of the late war, accompanied by views from photographs taken on the ground." Brady was to deliver it at Carnegie Hall and various friends of his were promoting it as a means of recouping his fortunes. The plan was thwarted by his death. The old showman instinct appears in the remarkable variety and the very selection of these pictures. It shows also in the text, or bits of text, written to accompany them. These texts are vivid, graphic and often well suited to the prejudice or popular mind of his audience to be. He lets the "Rebels" have it. He speaks of the well fed, well clothed men returning South from the Northern prisons when the war was ended, and is fairly violent about the Southern prisons, Andersonville for example. Anybody nowadays, of course, who know any history knows of the horrors of the Northern prisons and of the hospitals even for Northern soldiers—those outside Washington for instance, in which Whitman broke his health nursing and of which he wrote. And anybody knows that when it was clear that the blockade made supplies impossible for Andersonville, the Confederate government offered General Grant an exchange of prisoners, which Grant for good, if ruthless, reasons refused. The Confederates then offered to free all the prisoners if Washington would give them transportation home, but it was seven months before even that offer was acted on. But with Brady at his age and after his experience, those plausible sentiments for the lecture are undoubtedly sincere and are a part of the intensity and vividness of his nature.

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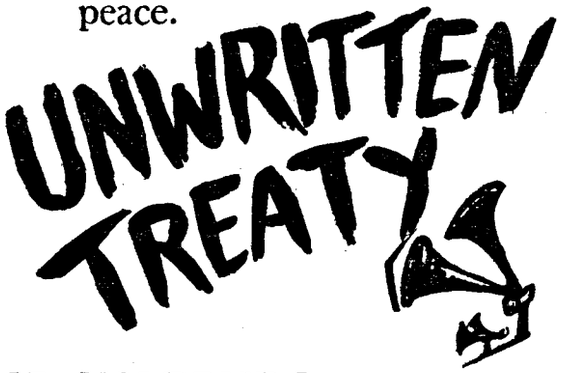

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Cartels Defended

International Cartels, by Ervin Hexner. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 555 pages. $6.

THOSE who drafted the Articles of Agreement for the forthcoming International Trade Organization believed that international cartels were pernicious enough to be banned. Ervin Hexner, on the other hand, asserts in this voluminous treatise that their danger to economic and political stability has been greatly exaggerated. Yet the evidence gathered by such writers as Corwin Edwards and Wendell Berge casts doubt upon Dr. Hexner's optimistic outlook. The attitude of Professor Edwards and Mr. Berge is well supported by the findings of the TNEC and by the studies of the Economics Section of the League of Nations.

Dr. Hexner complains, perhaps with some justification, that the empirical data are inadequate to permit any final judgment. His book is an attempt to remedy that deficiency: two-thirds of it consists of detailed descriptions of more than one hundred operating cartels covering an imposing array of commodities. It includes also the texts of several important trade agreements. The lay reader, however, will find the first part of Dr. Hexner's study of considerable interest, for it is here that the author summarizes all the factual information and offers his somewhat unusual appraisal of international cartels.

The problem of defining cartels is admittedly a difficult one. These international "coöperative associations" have molded their structures to conform with the legal regulations of various nations and their motivations have been equally varied. Division of territories, marketing agreements, pooling of profits, patent controls and cross-licensing have been some of the devices which determined their organization. Dr. Hexner seeks a precise, colorless and unemotional description. His definition, after a painstaking survey of cartel literature, is appropriately qualified by the kind of legal hair-splitting characteristic of imaginative corporation lawyers. An international cartel, he says, is a voluntary, impermanent business relationship among a number of independent private entrepreneurs to employ coordinated marketing procedures. This, of course, excludes government influences, and more important, it excludes the vast area of intercorporate relationships. Yet these complex ties have often been the dominant elements in the whole crazy-quilt pattern of international trade.

Dr. Hexner does not accept "as axiomatic the proposition that coöperation by private entrepreneurs on international markets is necessarily an evil." Nor is there any ground, he argues, for the notion that cartels endanger the democratic way of life, or that they are instruments of economic warfare. Yet he cannot evade the incontestable evidence of German cartel techniques. "There is no doubt whatsoever," he haltingly admits, "that the German General Staff influenced German entrepreneurs to use political penetration methods." But this, Dr. Hexner avers, has nothing to do with the cartel as an international marketing medium.

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of the cartel mechanism minimizes the repeated efforts to restrict production, limit competition and induce high prices. Cartel measures, we are told, may merely result in shifts of production. The justification goes even further. "There may be cases in which self-restriction is necessary in order to increase the volume of world trade in the long run, to coördinate the use of natural resources and to stabilize employment." Dr. Hexner's case studies offer few, if any, examples of these essentially profit-seeking combines adopting such high aims. And it is difficult to reconcile quotas and limited production with an enhanced volume of international trade.

Cartels, it is intimated, should not be relegated to the economic underworld. They have a service to perform—orderly marketing arrangements—and that service can be improved with publicity and government coöperation. Yet it will surely take more than these innocuous measures to eliminate the oppressive practices of international monopoly. A private marketing agreement can be a very effective instrument for consumer exploitation; there is no reason why we should tolerate a device which contains such risky potentialities. BEN B. SELIGMAN

A Reader's List

PLANNING No. 244. A Complete Maternity Service (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). "In its health services," says PEP in this broadsheet, "as in other departments of social policy, Britain is plainly entering upon a period of bold experiments." Yet the need for an adequate maternity service was obscured by the heated debate which followed the publication of the Beveridge Report and the White Paper on medical services. The controversy centered upon the claims of physicians and little was done to stress the need for specific types of health service. An effective maternity service, the editors say, must combine a high level of medical treatment with a "reasonable modicum of the facilities which are socially and psychologically desirable." Hospital facilities, they note, can provide but 50 percent of Britain's requirements, and the maternity death rate is still needlessly high. The broadsheet examines the

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question of unified administration; nutrition, insurance, education and child-health services are reserved for later discussion. The editors make specific suggestions for an improved service; these include coördinated and uninterrupted treatment, unified administration and public education. The latter seems especially important, for "first-rate administration and first-rate service founder completely on the rock of ignorance and prejudice."

TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD, edited by Ben Raeburn (Arco, $3.50). Sixty authors—scholars, journalists, ideologues, politicians and poets—discuss their hopes and fears on subjects as varied as education, politics, business, international relations, science, farming, race prejudice and economics. Individual performances are pretty much related to the skill and political commitments of the writers, with the scholars in the lead and the politicos running last. The reader will find it entertaining to distinguish analysis from information, and facts from propaganda. There are few surprises in these essays—much of what is said has been said before by the same authors and possibly better, and many say exactly what is expected. Consequently, this volume of good will for a better world enjoys the advantages and suffers the disadvantages of any political omnibus. Particularly worthwhile are Ernest Hemingway's fine preface, Vincent Sheean's piece on Spain, Max Lerner's article on Russia and America, a number of chapters on the Far East, Juan Negrin's "Science and Statesmanship," Hilda Walter's appreciative portrait of Carl von Ossietzky, and poems by William Rose Benét, Witter Bynner, Archibald MacLeish, Carl Sandburg and others.

Crime and Punishment

THE INNOCENT MRS. DUFF, by Elizabeth Sanxay Holding (Simon and Schuster, $2). This is the first of the Inner Sanctum Specials—a Special, says S and S, is "a novel of suspense, a novel of crime and punishment rather than crime and detection." Goodness knows such books are badly needed, but Mrs. Holding's story of a middle-aged snob whose young wife's un-class-consciousness so annoys him that in no time he's scheming her death, misses most of its opportunities. As one who read Mrs. Holding's *Invincible Minnie* in the twenties and still remembers it as a hair-raising experience, I *know* she can do better than this.

THE FIFTH MAN, by Manning Coles (Crime Club, $2). War's end has inevitably deprived the Nazis of much of their menace (though the espionage field today must be as rich as ever), a fact which the authors recognize in their latest book by making Tommy Hambledon the hunter instead of the hunted. Safely established in London as a key man in British Intelligence, Tommy brings all his acuity to bear on Tony Colemore. Is he, as he claims, a loyal British subject, or is he a preternaturally clever Nazi agent? Not a bad show, but slightly redolent of moth balls. E. H.

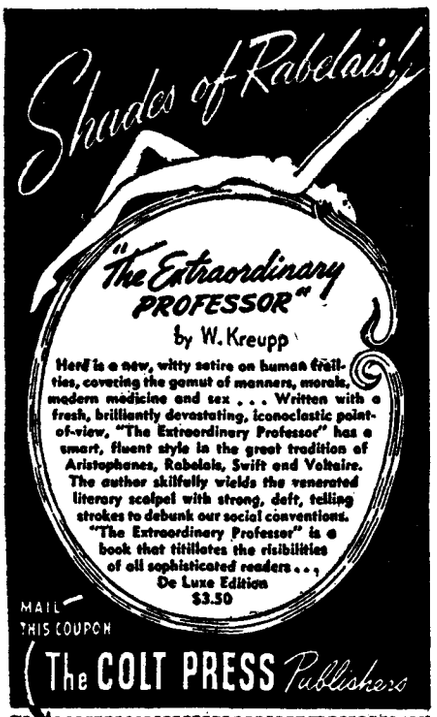
Contributors

THEODORE ROETHKE, a member of the English department at Bennington College, is the author of *Open House and Other Poems*, published by Knopf. He held a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1945.

PAUL M. SWEEZY is Faculty Instructor in Economics at Harvard University.

RICHARD H. ROVERE is a staff writer for the *New Yorker*.

BEN B. SELIGMAN, formerly managing editor of *Labor and Nation*, is now free-lancing. He has contributed articles and reviews to *Tomorrow* and *Commentary*.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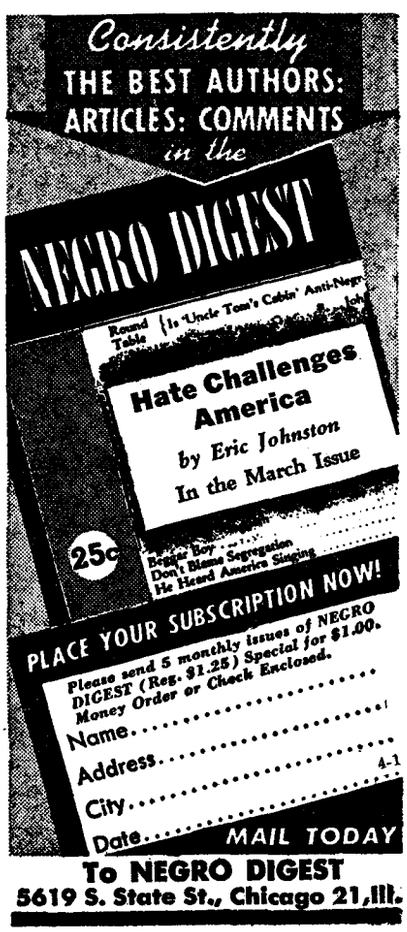

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200,000 employees of General Motors have been on strike for more than nine weeks. Day-to-day expenses — food, rent, medicine — are eating up their savings and their war bonds. 40,000 families have already exhausted every penny they had put by. —The need gets bigger every day. These people must have help just to live.

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William H. Davis, ex-chairman of the War Labor Board, and ex-Economic Stabilizer, told the Senate why on January 16th. No union, he said, can support families during a mass strike. $10 a week to 200,000 men means $2,000,000 a week. The union doesn't have it.

DON'T THE MEN GET GOVERNMENT RELIEF?

In 95.8% of the cases — NO. The few communities that allow relief pay about enough to feed the children — no more. Nothing for emergencies.

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